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THE

Saddle put on the Right Horse ;

OR, AN

ENQUIRY, &c.

IN no part of the British empire, have Englishmen served with more honour to themselves, and advantage to their country, than in the East Indies ; and in no part have their actions been so much misrepresented. *Nabob* is a general term of reproach, indiscriminately applied to every individual who has served the East India Company in Asia ; and every body understands it as implying, that the persons to whom it is applied, have obtained their fortunes by grievously oppressing the natives of India. This, I believe, is the idea which arises in the mind of almost every man and woman in the kingdom, on their hearing any person called a Nabob.

A

Perhaps

PERHAPS there is no man in England, who has had greater opportunities of observing the general conduct of our countrymen in Asia, than the writer of this pamphlet, both before the East India Company possessed lands and revenues in India, and since. If thirty years residence in various parts of Asia, and having connection, by some means or other, with the principal characters who have figured on that famous stage during the above mentioned period, that is, from the year 1750 to the year 1780, can intitle me to a right to intrude myself on the public as a narrator of facts, I am so intitled. I am not influenced by any man, or body of men, to this undertaking. I conceive myself to be a disinterested person, who, having the means, have also the inclination, to remove prejudices from the public mind, which have been, and continue to be, very prejudicial, not only to individuals, but to the nation in general.

BUT too well have we been convinced, that every branch of the legislative power of this country, were most grossly imposed on, with respect to the temper, disposition, resolution, and resources, of the people of America, prior to the late war in that country: Nor could the hearty union of the Thirteen States, to repel the wilful measures of the mother country, open the eyes of government, to the dreadful consequences of their infatuation. Saratoga hardened our hearts, and French perfidy but

but made us more obstinate. The publication of Lord Cornwallis's Vindication, convinces us, that our managers must have long known, that the hopes of conquest was as desperate, as the idea of pumping the ocean dry, through the rotten sides of a leaky ship. Every victory brought proof that our ruin approached ; for more men were lost in the hasty retreats from our own success, to a place of safety, than there fell in battle. York Town capture, no more than the Saratoga surrender, would have brought home conviction of our errors, had more men been to be had. The same lying spirit which involved us at first, continued the infatuation to the last : and Lord George Germaine left the Ministry as much convinced, that another campaign, after the defeat of De Grasse, would have produced the subjection of America, as Lord George Gordon is now convinced, that to persecute our loyal and faithful fellow subjects, the Roman Catholics, with fire and sword, would be doing the work of heaven.

In transactions so various, so extensive, and so complicated, as the British affairs have been in the western and in the eastern world, since the year 1750, it is impossible that much truth, and much falsehood, should not have been mixed up together, and obtruded on the public. America complained, and she has convinced us that she complained justly, of the officers of government misrepresenting

them in Europe. The East Indies have suffered a good deal from the same causes. I have taken up the pen in the cause of truth, and will handle it with the free spirit of an Englishman. I write to the whole people, and shall therefore write plainly. The nation has been abused, millions of facts have been misrepresented, and the delusion caused thereby, has been productive of much evil. I must go deep into detail, in order to come at the root of the national prejudices, with respect to the gentlemen who have served in Asia, by shewing how and when, these prejudices first took their rise, how they have since been propagated and supported, and how necessary it is for all persons, who mean to form their opinions on just grounds, to examine very closely into the foundation of every report, which though at first propagated only with a view to injure an individual, or to serve a party, comes at last to spread so wide, as to prejudice the public at home, and stain the honour of the nation abroad. For who is he that does not give credit to some one or more of the current reports, relative to the desolation and total ruin, of many provinces in the East Indies, more particularly in Bengal? Falsehoods often repeated, and never contradicted, in time come to be considered as real facts, and at last are adopted by creditable historians, and go down to posterity as parts of true history. I shall take occasion, in the course of this work, to mention several circumstances that are now confidently believed,

lieved, which have no kind of foundation in truth. Whether the universally received doctrine of political necessity, in numberless situations of national concerns, will be admitted or not, I neither know nor care. Wars, I believe, are sometimes unavoidable, but they are seldom just, if they are weighed in that excellent Christian scale, of doing to others as we would they should do unto us.

SINCE the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English, have, at various periods, held very valuable and extensive possessions on the continent of India Proper, or, as it has by some been called, the Peninsula of India. The Portuguese were the first, and the English the last, of the European powers, who have acquired dominions in that part of the world. It is no part of my plan, to enter deeply into the causes which gave rise to the wars, by the fortune of which we acquired dominions so extensive and valuable as those we now possess in Bengal, and other parts of Asia; it is a subject which has employed much abler pens. To those who wish to read for real information, and a love to truth, Mr. Orme is a most excellent guide: but to others who read for amusement, and admire more the beautiful flights of fancy in an author, than solid and genuine information, the Abbé Reynal has produced the most beautiful historical novel that ever was written.

ten. That amazing author wrote to the passions of all mankind, and has succeeded wonderfully. With the invention of Homer, the beauties of Virgil, the genius of Shakespear, the industry of Boyle, and the philanthropy of a Christian Citizen of the World, he has produced an entertaining romance, rather than a faithful history. He will for ever amuse, but never convince ; for on a small foundation of truth, he piles a heap of most beautiful fiction as high as the clouds, to which he in every page lifts, and there for ever leaves his readers ; too eccentric to be tied to historical truth, and too much the child of fancy, not to be carried, at every turn, into the regions of fiction. Every page of his Asiatic History, that relates to facts which fell out after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, is so chequered with truth and falsehood, that no dependance ought to be placed in him by an impartial historian, who means to instruct, and not merely to amuse the world. Mr. Paine, the Secretary to the American Congress, hath made the same observation with respect to his pieces of history, relative to the late troubles in that quarter of the globe ; and so will every other writer, who shall examine his facts, and compare them with his own experience and knowledge, in any part of the world. But the brilliancy of his extraordinary genius, has registered his labours in the temple of fame, and the Abbé's novel will be read, when Orme's faithful history shall be forgotten. What inducement then can I
have

have for writing? Posterity will certainly hear nothing of me nor my pamphlet.—Granted:—But some of my contemporaries will; and if I can but snatch one single lie from the historian's page, or from the lips of tradition, it will be worth my labour.

THOUGH the appellation of Nabob is certainly an Asiatic title, it was as certainly first given to Colonel Clive abroad, on account of his moderation, rather than his rapacity, or greediness of plunder. At home indeed, it was first applied to men, who contracted their habits of accumulation after their return to this country, and not to those who never had been but one voyage to India. These may appear to be very extraordinary assertions; but I feel that I shall be able to prove them beyond a doubt. My greatest difficulty will lie in confining myself to a few instances, and those such as will come home to every man's bosom, and not running this pamphlet into length, by producing too many, and proving too much.

THE first taste of fame and conquest, which the English officers enjoyed in India, happened on the coast of Coromandel, where the great Clive, and his able master in the art of war, Major-General Lawrence, made the English name terrible. This was soon after followed by the conquest of all the forts and harbours of the pirate Angria, on the Malabar

Malabar coast. Yet we made conquests rather as auxiliaries, than as principals in the wars : for the Nabob of Arcot enjoyed the advantages of the first, and the Poonah Mahrattas of the last. Some prize money was made, but no territory held, which produced any thing further than some advantages in trade; and a few districts pawned or pledged to us for certain sums advanced, the revenue of which was to reimburse the Company for the expences of the war. Perhaps it would have been as well, if we could have tied ourselves down always to have acted in the same manner, and never lost sight of our first profession of merchants. But armies once raised, must be paid ; and the sword once drawn, no man hath hitherto been able to foretel, when, or how, it should again become sheathed, in any period of time, or in any part of the world. We won a rich and extensive continent in the east, as it were by surprise, between the years 1756 and 1763 ; and we lost another in the west, by means as sudden and unexpected, between the years 1776 and 1783. Such sudden starts into power, grandeur, wealth, and dominion, and as sudden returns into poverty and humiliation, ought to humble our pride, and destroy our arrogance. They certainly are prodigies permitted by heaven, to convince mankind, that their business on earth, is peace, love, and good will, towards each other, and not war and desolation. We are but monkeys without tails, and take a deal of scourging before we learn our duty ;

duty; and even then, a little Flow of what we call good fortune, turns our heads as much as an apple does that of our grinning prototype, and we forget all again.

THAT we were not the aggressors in the dispute at Bengal with Surajah ul Dowlah, is generally allowed. A few indiscreet acts in the English Governor, could not justify the extirpation of every Englishman in the kingdom. The Company held factories in Bengal, by permission of the Emperor of Hindoostan; and under the protection of the Company, the inhabitants of Calcutta supposed themselves in safety, in every part of the provinces belonging to the Subah, or Nabob, of Bengal. But he was a rash, ill advised, headstrong, and rapacious young man, deaf to the voice of reason and of justice; and only did not destroy every Englishman in Bengal, because some escaped his vengeance, and got down the river in ships and boats, (where many of them died, and the others suffered much in body and mind, for the space of five months,) until relief was sent them from Madras. Colonel Clive commanded the land forces, and Admiral Watson, and the present Sir George Pocock, the Squadron of King's ships then in India, which accompanied the Madras troops to the relief of their distressed and much wronged friends at Bengal.

It

It is the province of the historian to enter into a detail of all circumstances relative to the war which ensued; and many very good accounts there are in print, of our successes in Bengal, and other parts of India. My business is to shew, that the appellation of *Nabob*, so indiscriminately bestowed on all the gentlemen who have served in India, *properly belongs but to one.*

† If ever there was a truly just war of offence, that waged under the command of Colonel Clive, against the Subah of Bengal, was such. There was no alternative. He would have destroyed us, if we had not dethroned him. Our right of continuance, as merchants, in the country, was in every legal point of view, superior to his right to govern it. Ours was derived from a grant often renewed by Emperors, long acknowledged as the undisputed Sovereigns of all Hindoostan; his was from a very recent usurpation. He was as improper a successor to Allaverdy Cawn, as Richard Cromwell was to Oliver. We could not continue under his government in safety, as merchants; and necessity, that political salve for all self-interested fores, made it necessary that we should remove him from the throne, or he would have removed us from the country. The bloody, self-willed tyrant, plundered the unarmed merchants; but the armed merchants, in their turn, defeated the worthless despot. Had the Nabob conquered Col. Clive and his army on the plains of Plassey, not an English-
man

man would have been left in Bengal. But Clive defeated the Nabob, and might, if he had thought proper, by the right of arms, and law of nations, have entered his capital city sword in hand, and have plundered and laid all waste, as the Nabob had done at Calcutta the preceding year. Revenge for past injuries, desire of plunder, the law of retaliation, and fifty other scurvy passions, offered themselves on the instant of victory, whilst the blood of the conquerors ran warm in their veins to impel them on; but that great Christian virtue, moderation, interposed, and all was saved. There was in the cities of Moorshadabad and Cossimbuzar, at that moment, more wealth than was sufficient to have made every gentleman in Bengal, richer than most of the Nabobs that I know now in England. There was not a Moor or Hindoo family in the city, but trembled for the consequences. Rapes, massacres, fire, plunder, and desolation, was what they expected. War with Europeans and Christians, they had never before experienced. Their Prince had been totally routed, nor had they an idea, but that the ruin of all his subjects must be the inevitable consequence. What then must have been their surprise, when they were assured that the English were their friends, and when they saw that not a house was plundered or burned, that not a woman was ravished, nor man, woman, or child, murdered, or suffered any kind of injury from Europeans, at so great and extraordinary a revolution! In a very
few

few days the tumult subsided, the shops were opened, confidence was restored, and business of all kinds went on as quietly, as if no revolution had happened. This to the Asiatics, appeared astonishing; and those of them who survive, mention such moderation and forbearance in the conquerors, with wonder to this day. I have heard it asserted by many of the natives, who had good opportunities of knowing the fact, that there was at the time Colonel Clive and his party entered the city, from ten to fifteen millions sterling, in current gold, silver, and jewels, in the public treasury, the bankers shops, the houses of the officers of state, and of private merchants; and I believe it as firmly, as I do that an equal, or much greater, sum in value, now subsists in the same kind of depositories, in the cities of London, Westminster, and Southwark.

† WITHOUT entering into an investigation, whether, by the law of arms, the English army had a right to all this wealth, as the army of the Nabob thought they had the preceding year, to every thing which could be found in Calcutta, I shall only observe, that peace was restored, and private property of every kind, left untouched by the captors, on condition that a sum, equal to about four millions sterling, was paid to the Company, including what was given as a compensation to the suffering merchants in Calcutta, and as prize money, or donation, to the fleet, the army, and to individuals in high station :

station : And I further affirm, that a sum equal thereto, was found in the different treasuries of the dethroned Prince, and quietly taken possession of by his successor. The English had been insulted by a tyrant, whose predecessor had usurped the government of the Bengal provinces, and refused to render account, or pay obedience, to his liege lord, the Great Mogul, or Emperor of all Hindoostan, a dependant part of whose empire, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, had, for ages before the usurpation of Allaverdy Cawn, been considered, and held by commissiion from the Emperor. The reigning usurper paid no regard to the orders or mandates of the Emperor, and having conceived a dislike to the English, used the power in his hands to dislodge them, by force of arms, from their factory, or settlement, which he plundered, and inhumanly destroyed many hundreds of the innocent inhabitants. The following year (as noted above) the English were reinforced, attacked the usurper in their turn, and having defeated him more than once, drove him from the musnud, or throne, and established one of the great feudal lords, or *Barons* of Bengal, in his stead.

Now comes the great political question, in the disquisition of which, a genius such as that of the Abbé Reynal, might display his whole powers of philosophic reflection, and benevolent conclusion.

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The field is boundless; and the matter it would furnish to so elegant and creative an imagination, extremely fertile; yet the question itself is simple and plain, and contained in one single—*Query*—Would it have been more to the interest of the English nation, when they had established Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn in the Subahship of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and received from him full restitution for their losses, and handsome gratuities to their fleet and army, for the trouble they had in revenging their own quarrel, to have re-established their factories precisely in the same situation in which they had stood before the war, leaving the same number of troops (for shew) and civil servants, to conduct the Company's mercantile affairs, and retired with their fleet and army to the coast of Coromandel, to meet their natural and national enemy, the French, without dipping further into the political affairs of Bengal? or proceeded on as they have since done, to subdue the whole country?

An examination into plain matters of fact, will find sufficient employment for such dull, inanimate souls as mine; mere pamphleteer historians dare not to meddle with such abstruse political Gordian knots, when they come in their way. I shall, therefore, leave it as I found it, for fear of going out of my depth: though the probable consequences of the other side of the question, are tumbling about in my head, from having viewed the scene, and
taken

taken an active part on the stage myself. But as what might have happened from our holding a different conduct to that which we really did hold, must for ever remain mere matter of conjectural opinion, I shall consign it untouched to the Abbé, and other metaphysical geniuses of that powerful tribe, who raise themselves into fame, by forming theoretical systems to govern mankind, in which practical experience has little to do, and go on in my own way, to account for what has happened, in consequence of our having held the Bengal Nabob in leading-strings, and undertaken to dry nurse Chet Sing, Rajah of Benares, Asoph ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, Viziar of the Empire, &c. &c.

I MUST, for a moment, revert to first principles. Do not be alarmed, gentle reader, for I hate as much as you can, tedious, dull, conjectural narration. Truth lies in a small compass, and may be easily explained. It is fiction which bewilders and tires, when any where met with out of its own province, poetry. In biography it is intolerable, but in history it is infamous. Why does the Abbé Reynal rush into my mind, when I make such a reflection? The reason is, that I have been disgusted by his erroneous account of Asia: For with all his beauties of genius and of style, and with all his boasted philanthropy, he is not an historian, as he calls himself, and has been called by others, but a fabulist. One single page in the writings of his countryman, Bernier, relative to India affairs, is worth

worth his whole work : so much does plain truth, and common sense, exceed the most beautiful and luxuriant creations of fancy.

+ It has always been the custom of the East India Company, and it is their custom still, to send their servants out young, in quality of writers, to their settlements in the East Indies, where they serve an apprenticeship of five years in that station, and afterwards rise by degrees, and at the end of certain periods, to superior rank. The gradations are those of writer, factor, junior merchant, and senior merchant. The senior of which last order, succeeds to the vacancies at the council board, as they happen, and so up to the government. At Bengal, this order of succession has been broken in upon, the state having taken the nomination of the Governor General and his Council. But the Board of Trade, as it is now called, have the direction in mercantile affairs, and may be said to be similar to the old President and Council, as to what relates to commercial transactions. All the other Presidencies, the succession to the high offices of government, are still open to the younger servants, subject only to the controul of the Company at home.

THE young men chosen for writers, were formerly selected from the middle orders of the people, such as the sons of Directors of the Company,
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their military and marine officers, their old servants abroad, and of merchants and capital tradesmen connected with the Company at home ; latterly, numbers of writers have been taken from the higher orders of society, and some of them the sons of the nobility. All I wish, or mean, to infer, by this account of writers, is, that if there is any morality or virtue, left in the people of this dissipated nation, it is as likely to be found in such families as are above mentioned, as in any other. It will at least be allowed me, that however depraved and dissipated the parents may be, hitherto they have taken care to instil, by a virtuous and liberal education, the principles of moral and religious duties, into the minds of their children : And as the young men in general, go abroad when they attain to their sixteenth year, their manners and morals are as uncorrupt as can be well expected, when they take (as happens but too often) their eternal leave of their fond parents, to seek their fortunes in the East India Company's service.

To suppose that, on their arrival at the several places of destination in India, whether Bombay, Madrafs, Bengal, or Bencoolen, they are given up to their own direction entirely, is a mistake. Generally speaking, if they have no relations of their own on the spot, they are very particularly recommended to the notice of other families in the settlement, who receive them on their arrival, under
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their protection : And as for a decent provision, no service in the world, provides so handsomely for their dependents. What the Company allows, is sufficient, with rigid frugal economy, for the mere necessities of life ; but those whose friends can allow them something more during their writership, may spend it, without incurring the charge of extravagance, as it is generally laid out in good apparel ; and if in any thing a young man can be justified in going to the utmost bounds of his income, I should excuse him more readily in the article of dress, than any other. Youth is the blossom of life ; the use of gay apparel at that period, is but copying nature, and she seldom errs.

THERE are, no doubt, vices in some constitutions, which no climate can controul, and a warm one the least of any. On this I shall say nothing more, than that in all societies, some few individuals will run riot. Time, and time only, is able to rein in some of our natural passions. But as for
 X the accidental ones of wine and gaming, if they are enjoyed any where in moderation, and without gross abuse, it is in the East Indies ; for I never knew a young man guilty of either, who did well in the Company's service, for they are by no means countenanced in such excesses by men in power.

THE study of the country languages, and the daily duties of the office to which they are, from
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their first arrival, allotted, find employment enough for the most active mind ; and in Asia, as in all other parts of the world, the man who best attends to the duties of his station and situation, succeeds best in life. But as to dissipation, and corruption of manners and morals, a merchant's or banker's clerk, of twenty years old, in London, is further gone than the Company's servants in Asia during their whole life.

It has been observed, that the East India gentlemen write and speak more correctly, than any other body of mercantile people in the world : (for merchants they are, and only deserve the denomination of Nabobs, when they affect to forget that circumstance, as I shall go near to prove.) The reason is this ; that partly from their inability of expressing themselves correctly to their Indian servants, and partly from the want of comprehension in those servants, they are not able to send a simple message without writing a note, or, as it is called in India, a *chit*. This of course obliges them to write very frequently, and unless they do it correctly, they become subject to the ridicule of their companions. When they go into the provinces, this correspondence is extended to the writing of letters on all subjects whatever ; which, together with the correct and masterly stile of correspondence, in which the Company's affairs are carried on by their superiors in rank, whose writ-

sings they are frequently employed to copy, in the end, gives them the habit of writing correctly. And it may with equal justice be observed, that the application which the young men in general, give to the study of the country languages, preserves to them, and improves the knowledge of, the grammar which they acquired at school.

X THE manners of the Hindoos are, perhaps, the most inoffensively mild and engaging, of any people on earth. They never spill the blood of the most offensive and noxious insect designedly; nor ever punish their children, or dependents, with stripes. A young man, in a continual habit of intercourse with such a people, must imbibe some of their patient and placid ideas. Universal charity, and general hospitality, are natives of Asia, and are practised by the Hindoos towards all strangers, as far as their customs and religious prejudices will admit. Young minds are attracted by example; and it is the general opinion, that if in any part of the world, Englishmen are pre-eminently famous for the social and domestic virtues, the Company's servants in the East Indies are they. I was acquainted with the inhabitants of every one of the Presidencies, for several years before the capture of Calcutta by the Moors; and I affirm, with truth and certainty, that such were the customs, manners, and habits, of the English inhabitants of Bombay, Madraſs, and Calcutta in Bengal, when the troubles

bles with the Moors commenced, and in their consequences, brought about the revolution above mentioned, in 1757, at Bengal.

THE great Lord Clive himself, (and surely, if ever a private subject deserved the name of great, he was the man,) went out a writer in the Company's service, and indeed, so did a great number of the Company's officers originally. Some of them returned again to the civil service, many fell in the field, and some survived to return to Europe; but of those last there were but few indeed. I have shewn that it was in their power to have become, every man of them, as rich as their countrymen have constantly supposed all the Indians to be, and that the law of retaliation, a justifiable spirit of revenge, self interest, and great opportunity, were all on their side to help them on; but the generosity, hospitality, humanity, and moderation, for which they were in those days so famous, operated so strongly, that so far were they from exercising acts of cruelty and barbarity on individuals, to accumulate wealth, that they neglected to take what, by the law of arms, and the constant and universal custom of that country, had become their right.

BEFORE I proceed further, it may be necessary to say something on the *different classes of Nabobs*. Lord Clive will be found to be the only *real* and *genuine*

genuine English Nabob, amongst the whole number.

THE second sort, or those whom I shall call *spurious Nabobs*, are such persons, who having served the Company many years abroad, and returning to Europe with a moderate fortune, either from a negligence arising from that generous confidence which they had imbibed in India, took too little care of their money, or perhaps sharing it with their friends too generously, or, as it sometimes happened, from an impatient, ambitious spirit to raise themselves into public notice, obtained their former rank, and returned again to India. It is principally to this second order of Nabobs, that the East Indians owe that part of the odium, which may be said to have been justly laid to their account ! But as to the greater part of the ungenerous stories, which have industriously been propagated against them, I pledge myself to convince the impartial, unprejudiced, and candid reader, that they never had existence.

THE third order is composed principally of such gentlemen, who have served in different parts of Asia, from twenty to thirty years, and being content with a moderate, honestly acquired fortune, have returned to their native country, and generally to their native place, whether England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland, to spend amongst their
friends

friends the remainder of their days. This order I shall denominate *the reputed Nabobs*.

It is a remark, and a very melancholy one it is, because it is true, that not ten in the hundred of the Company's servants, who go out writers, marine and military officers, surgeons, cadets, tradesmen, &c. ever return to their native country with a handsome independency; and not twenty in the hundred of the whole, who go abroad to settle in India, under every denomination, of free merchant, free mariner, &c. &c. included, ever return at all. Amongst these scanty returns, we must look not only for our real, spurious, and reputed Nabobs, but also for another race, which I shall call *mere adventurers*, or *musbroom Nabobs*—A set of men, who have caused almost as much scandal, by their indiscreet conduct after their return, as the spurious Nabobs themselves.

FORMERLY, when a man in this country was called a Jacobite, it raised in the mind of the hearer, the idea that he was a friend to the interests of the Stuart family. At present, when a gentleman is said to be a Nabob, the hearer conceives that he has served the East India Company at Bengal. But this is by no means a just idea: there are Nabobs of the three last sorts, who have served at Madras and Bombay; though the term was originally given to gentlemen who had served in Bengal.

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So much it was necessary to premise, to prevent misconceptions. When I speak in general of India gentlemen, the term implies indiscriminately, all persons who have served in Asia. But if the Presidency is necessary to be known, a Nabob of Bombay, Madras, or Bengal, will be particularly mentioned; and to distinguish the class, real, spurious, reputed, or mushroom, will be added. With the help of this clue, I hope to make myself clearly understood.

HAD the King's Admirals, and Colonel Clive, after they had established *Meer Jaffer Ally Cawn*, in the Nabobship of Bengal, and re-established the Company's affairs in that kingdom, been content with so doing, and withdrawn the fleet and army from thence, and trusted in future to the gratitude of the Subah, for our Company's mercantile interests, in all human probability, the appellation of Nabob, as it is now applied, would never have been known in England. But Colonel Clive, who looked through a Mussulman, or an Hindoo Grandee, as clearly as through a glass, considered them as a race of beings who never could be trusted, so prudently made a good bargain for the Company, in obtaining the cession of certain districts for them in perpetuity, and a life-right for himself, in a grant of a jaghire, or pension, of about thirty thousand pounds a year. That this last was a voluntary offer to him from the Nabob, I most seriously

riously believe ; and the Nabob had as good a right to give it, as we had to give him the country. When the great Duke of Marlborough beat the French, and relieved the House of Austria from their apprehensions of total ruin, he was, by the Emperor, made a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and had a *jagbire* settled on him, to support his dignity. In short, he was made a Nabob of Germany, as Colonel Clive was of the Empire of Hindoostan. Now if saving an empire, deserves such a reward as Lord Marlborough received, I see no reason why receiving the same reward, and the title in consequence, should be considered as criminal in Colonel Clive ; but so it has turned out ; for from the time that Mr. Clive accepted of the title of an Omrah, the appellation of Nabob has been added to his name as a term of reproach in England.

THE conclusion which I conceive to follow, is this ; that had the Colonel, when he entered Cossambuzar, seized to his own use, in the treasury of the late Nabob, jewels and money, to the value of a million and a half sterling, permitted his officers to have shared the remainder, and his soldiers to have ransacked the town, as the Nabob's troops had ransacked Calcutta the year before, the people of this country would have thought he had done right : But as he acted justly and openly in the transaction, gave the whole to the new Nabob, and
consented

consented to receive a part back, for the Company, himself, and his sea and land brethren, in so just a war, his envious countrymen have endeavoured to load his name with infamy and reproach, which he never deserved.

COLONEL Clive's title of Omrah, and the handsome pension annexed, in order to support it, I neither can, or will consider, as unmerited, from *Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn*. But the Colonel's private reasons for accepting of them, arose from a very different cause, than the people in general are acquainted with. When Mr. or Capt. Clive, returned to England first, his views were turned to the raising himself in the Company's service, both as a civilian and military man. It was impossible that he could foresee, what a full measure of fame and honour, lay hid for him in the womb of time. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, had but just restored the nation at home to a state of tranquillity, and the Company to their town, or factory, of Madrafs, on the coast of Coromandel. The Captain had been married, and had an increasing family. The rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the King's service, and appointment to the Deputy Governorship, with the prospect of one day becoming Governor of Madrafs, bounded the limits of his utmost ambition, when he left England in 1754. I am not writing his life, not being equal to the task of doing justice to so great a man ; but I could wish
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some Gibbon would undertake it. After having arrived at Bombay, and jointly, with Admirals Watson and Pocock, with the King's squadron, (attended by the Company's marine force, commanded by the present Sir William James,) subdued the pirates on the coast of Malabar, he was fixed on by the Presidency of Madras, to attend the same great and valuable sea officers, and carry relief to their distressed countrymen at Bengal, who had been unjustly destroyed, or driven from their habitations, naked, and almost helpless, down the river of Bengal, by a cowardly, remorseless tyrant. Clive, like Cæsar, came, saw, and overcame, in the manner I have rather hinted, than related. Having succeeded to the government of Bengal, in reward for his invaluable services, he was at the *ne plus ultra* of the East India Company's service. But it was impossible for a mind active and ambitious, as that of Colonel Clive, to rest there. He was conscious of the great services which he had already rendered his country, and looked forward to national reward. Sorry I am to observe, that in my opinion, the first mark of the breaking up of the powers of his capacious and comprehensive mind, was his stooping to accept of an Irish peerage. Immortal Clive! was there no niche could be found for thee in the British House of Lords? Is every stall in that honourable retreat for laurelled heroes, made over in fee simple, to wrangling lawyers and mouthing patriots, who
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mean nothing but a provision for themselves and families? Colonel Clive had very recently visited England, and well knew that a man, who would have, in future, to move in so exalted a sphere, required a handsome independent fortune, in order to support the character, which he had acquired in *many a well fought field*. Many times had his friend the Nabob, urged him to accept some private presents, which would effectually have answered the purpose. This mode Clive declined, as unworthy of him. But as he was conscious of having deserved every thing that the Nabob could do for him, public honour, and public support, was what he preferred; and thus openly, fairly, and justly, accepted of his title and jaghire, and thereby gave occasion to envy, to turn into ridicule the appellation of Nabob; never legally possessed, either before or since, by any Englishman, and which reflects as much honour on his country, as a similar title, acquired in the same honourable way, by the famous Duke of Marlborough.*

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*The writer of the Life of the Earl of Chatham, in the second paragraph of his work, says, "It is agreed on all hands, that Mr. Pitt's patrimony was narrow; and Lord Chesterfield has fixed it at an annuity of one hundred pounds a year. As his grandfather was an *East India Nabob*, and, as it should seem, remarkably successful, his father the eldest son, and himself the younger of only two, the scantiness of this pittance is not easily to be accounted for."—What is not easily to be accounted for? that a rich man's youngest grandson should have but a small pittance to live on? Ridiculous! What is more common? But every

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THE second order of Nabobs, whom I call *spurious*, and whose ridiculous and ostentatious display of wealth, first disgusted the nation, are those who, by their extravagance of behaviour, have turned the appellation of Nabob, so honourable in Lord Clive, into a term of reproach, and even contempt. There are (thank God) not many of this tribe; but if the proverb of one scabby sheep spoiling a whole flock, is true, three or four will do it effectually. There are men in all civilized

ry witling must have a slap at the *Nabobs*; and this servile flatterer of the adventurer, Mr. Edmund Burke, shews his ignorance, in an attempt at being witty, to gratify his patron's spleen.

When the grandfather to the Earl of Chatham was Governor of Madras, the appellation of Nabob, as applied to Englishman, was not known; nor did the occasion so to apply it, exist, until many years afterwards. The East India Company never have themselves dealt in diamonds, but always allowed their Governors to do so. Mr. Pitt was a great and fair merchant, and by his spirit, drew moff of the Golconda merchants, with their diamonds, to the English mart of Madras; and depending on his own judgement in the value of diamonds, ventured the greatest part of his fortune, in the purchase of the famous one afterwards known by his name. The pitiful sneer of this time-serving writer, is, therefore, ill placed, and recoils on himself. Even this man's master, the great Orator himself, often uses Asiatic terms, which he does not understand the meaning of, but depends on the ignorance of his hearers or readers, as this biographer has done. If this catch-penny production should pass to a second edition, I hope he will have the grace to drop the above paragraph; his history will do full as well without it; as I suppose it matters very little, whether the great statesman set out in life with a fortune, or as this writer's patron, the Irish adventurer, did, without a single sixpence.

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and mercantile nations, who raise themselves from the very dregs of the people, to wealth and power; and whilst they bear their good fortune meekly, turning their mind now and then to the blue coat, or parish badge, with a lifted eye of thankfulness to God for the change, they are respected in society; nor is their snug chariot, or neat villa, envied to them by their less fortunate neighbours: but when men, whose origin is so obscure, that no parish register can be found, which bears their name, obtain wealth so suddenly, that nobody can account for the means, and at the enormous mass of which, they themselves seem surprised, conjectures injurious to their moral rectitude, will and must have place. If it be true that such upstart beings, intoxicated with pride, drive furiously on in the public way, covering with dust and filth, people of all ranks, general contempt is what they deserve. If there be such, who, purchasing manors on which their fathers kept sheep, or building palaces on the spot, where heretofore, in a blue apron, they themselves drew ale; and where they now exceed in luxurious expence, pomp of equipage, and every ostentatious, frivolous, and useless act of costly extravagance, the first nobles of the land; they deserve, and richly too, the infamous appellation of *spurious Nabobs*. To the folly and absurdity of this tribe, it has, in a great measure, been owing, that their innocent countrymen, who have served in Asia, have been treated with a
disrespect

disrespect which they have not deserved at the hands of their countrymen, as I shall prove before I close this book.

As it is clear from the above account, that the great bulk of the English gentlemen who have served in India, could not become real Nabobs, neither were they, or are they, desirous of being considered as such; and whereas no part of their conduct abroad, or at home, subjects them justly to the imputation of being spurious Nabobs, it is but reasonable and just, that they should be separated from them.

THE charges which have been brought against the Indians in general, in the daily papers, and other periodical, but anonymous publications, have been various and innumerable; but as they have been also general, and unattended by proof of any kind, or chargeable on any one individual, I must consider them as party squibbs, shot off at convenient periods, to serve the interested views of particular persons, or to gratify their spleen or their envy. Such general accusations are beneath notice. But as a dislike to Asiatic gentlemen, could not have become so prevalent and general throughout the nation (as I have had many reasons to convince me it has done) unsupported by some foundation, I must conclude, that it has principally arisen from the following causes.

FIRST.

FIRST. The dreadful accounts transmitted from Bengal, of the consequences of the famine in 1770, with the conclusions which were drawn therefrom, to the prejudice of individuals then resident in Bengal, both in public and private stations.

SECONDLY. The contents of the Reports of the Select and Secret Committees of the House of Commons, instituted to enquire into the state of the East India Company's affairs at home and abroad, in 1772.

THIRDLY. The allusions contained in the digressional parts of the third volume of Col. Dow's History of Hindoostan.

LASTLY. The curious representations of the three gentlemen, appointed by an Act of Parliament, to form a majority of the Council General at Bengal, in 1774.

I WILL give each of the above heads a separate consideration, and in so doing, I hope to convince at least a moiety of my readers, that they have been most grossly imposed on, and thereby led to judge, not only harshly, but unjustly, of a great majority of their fellow subjects, who have acted in Asia.

IN a former work of mine, I said a great deal on the subject of the famine; but as that is now out of print, and has long since been forgotten, I shall here repeat a few of the facts I then referred to. Bengal, like Egypt, is a country very fruitful in grain. Both of them lie between the 20th and 30th degrees of north latitude, and depend equally on the periodical fall of rain, for their fertilization. The overflowing of the Ganges is as beneficial to the first, as that of the Nile to the last, though not so absolutely necessary; because all over the low country of Bengal, great quantities of rain fall every year, which is not the case in Egypt. The rise of the river Nile, depends almost entirely on the great quantity of water, which falls in the mountains of Abyssinia or Ethiopia; so does the Ganges, Barampoota, and other rivers which fertilize Bengal, on that which annually falls in the mountains of Thibet and Bootan. A very dry season is equally fatal to both countries. But Bengal suffers as much in some seasons, from too great a fall of water, as from a scarcity, which I believe is seldom the case in Egypt. From those two causes, the price of rice fluctuates greatly at Bengal, inso-much, that it is sometimes so very cheap, that it will not pay the expence of collecting in; and at others so very scarce, that a temporary famine inevitably ensues. That which happened in the year 1770, was one of the most severe which we read of in the records of time. The causes of it, were un-

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doubtedly, the following. I was on the spot, was a great exporter of grain, and had but too good an opportunity of being an eye witness of all the horrors of that most dreadful visitation, where dogs, jackals, vultures, and every bird and beast of prey, grew fat and unweildy on the flesh of man. Nor were such sights in any degree so shocking, as others of which I was a helpless and daily witness, and which, in compassion to the feelings of my readers, I pass over in silence.

THE harvest of rice in September 1766, was so plentiful all over the provinces, that many of the farmers left latter crops on the ground, as it would not pay the expence of gathering in. Stacking of corn, the climate, and the nature of rice, will not admit; and threshing and housing are too expensive, in times of such uncommon and dangerous plenty. This induced a very general neglect of cultivation in the article of rice in 1767; because there was not a man in the kingdom, who did not think, that there was at that time, a stock of rice on hand, sufficient for three years consumption; and our provident national policy, of allowing a bounty on exportation in days of plenty, to enable the farmer to go on to plant, was not understood, or not practised, at Bengal; on the reverse, the opposite and pernicious policy prevailed; for the exportation was checked, by a duty of ten per cent. being levied on it.

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THE harvest of 1768, was more than half washed away by excessive floods, which no mounds of earth, or artificial fences, can resist: And that of 1769, proved scanty for want of water, to such a degree, that about the seed time, or time of sowing in 1770, the want of rice was universally felt over all the kingdom.

DREADFUL as the above circumstances are, there existed local prejudices, which made them more horrid. The great body of the natives of Bengal, are rigid Hindoos, who live on rice and vegetables. The first failed them; and the three months preceding the sowing season, that is from February to May, are so remarkably sultry and dry, that little or none can be made to grow, even to serve as salad: and though animal food of all sorts, was in plenty, millions died rather than touch it. As to importation of grain from abroad, the very freight of rice to Bengal, from any place in India where it could be had, amounts to more money, three times told, than the common natives are ever able to pay for it. In a country so regulated as England, when wheat comes to eight or nine shillings the bushel, the poor have some resource in other sorts of grain, as well as in animal food, and in vegetables, such as potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbages, and other esculent plants and roots, that will keep: But was it to rise to eighteen shillings the bushel, and then not to be had, what

would become of our people, or our government ? and who, but Almighty God, could relieve them ? Horrid as the above idea is, how infinitely short does it fall, of the miseries experienced by the common natives of Bengal, who, had they had wherewithal to have paid for it, could not have obtained rice at ten times the common price ; that is, the scarcity was so general, so great, and so dreadful, that the price of rice was equivalent to the price of wheat in England, at five pounds sterling the bushel.

HERE it was reported, and believed, that the English inhabitants took advantage of the scarcity, to enrich themselves by monopolizing the rice. Would to heaven it had been so ; thousands of lives would have been saved. Had Englishmen, or any other men, but taken the surplus rice off the farmers hands, in 1766, the full and usual quantity, would have been planted in 1767. In that case, the loss of half the crops of 1768 and 1769, would not have caused so great a scarcity in 1770, as to carry off a large proportion of the inhabitants, by that most dreadful of all calamities. Such were the causes, and such the effects, of the famine at Bengal. Nor Englishmen, nor any other men, have any thing to answer for at the throne of God. That being the case, their countrymen should cease to propagate, or believe stories, so malicious in the invention, and so false in fact.

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THE SECOND HEAD.

THE second head relates to the *discoveries*, as they were called, made by the Committees of the House of Commons, which sat on India affairs, in 1772 and 1773. The word discovery, in the sense which in this place it must be understood, implies, that they had found out something in the conduct of the East India gentlemen, which they had intended to hide from the world. This certainly was not the case; for all which the Committees have published, was found on the face of the East India Company's records, open to the perusal, not only of the twenty-four Directors, and every clerk about the India House, but also to the inspection and controul of several thousand Proprietors. One would imagine, such a party was too numerous to keep secrets, in particular, as many amongst them were women. But the truth is, no secret was intended. The principal crime laid to their charge, was their having received presents of immense sums of money, from the country Princes. Most of the gentlemen who had been guilty of this enormous offence, being in England, were sent for, and examined by the Committees; and what is singular, so far were they from denying the charge, that they helped the Committee to much additional information, and candid explanation, relative to the when, and how, from whom, and wherefore; which they
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need not to have done, (for they were not examined upon oath,) and this their candour, was turned into comments, remarks, and observations, against themselves, by the Committee's managers. This conduct in the Ministry of that day, has, by the famous orator, the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, been called a mere state job, a political delusion, a rod held over their heads *in terrorem*, by which, "*The East India Company was to be covered with infamy and disgrace, and at the same time was to pay the whole bill.*"

As there is no man in England, more conversant in the tricks of Ministers and Committee jobs, than Mr. Burke is universally allowed to be, I shall rest that part of the defence on his authority, and proceed to relate what the Princes and great men in Asia themselves, thought and said on the same subject of receiving presents.

WHEN the printed reports came out to India, I frequently amused myself in explaining the spirit and tendency of them to some of the great country gentlemen, who had themselves been guilty of giving away their own money to the English in power, and in consequence held, at various times, conversations on the subject, with Hindoos, Mussulmen, and persons of all parties, casts, and denominations, religious and civil. I will endeavour to throw the substance and spirit of all they said, into

into one conversation, such as at different periods, I held with different men, and thereby convey, as well as I can, the general opinion, and result of the whole, to my English reader, in form of dialogue, between myself and a Bengal gentleman of family and independent fortune, whom, in compliance with the taste of the times, I shall call a Nabob.

NABOB. Mr. Author, I cannot understand why the Members of your House of Parliament, should become so angry with us India gentlemen, for making presents of our own property to whom we please. Have we not a right so to do ?

AUTHOR. I find that you do not fully understand me, Sir. No men in the world, are so tenacious of the liberty and property of individuals, as English Members of Parliament. It is their uncommon anxiety about the security of private property, which has induced them to believe some certain persons, who have asserted, that you, Sir, and other great men of this country, have had your money forced from you, without your consent ; and it is with a view to find out and punish such tyranny, that the Parliamentary enquiries have been instituted.

NABOB. Indeed ! Why that is generous, truly. But who from amongst yourselves (for none of us,
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that I know of, hold correspondence with the English Parliament), are the people who have propagated such unfounded stories?

AUTHOR. I believe, Sir, that you have been personally acquainted with some of them. You remember Colonel Dow, and Mr. William Bolts?

NABOB. Colonel Dow and Mr. Bolts! Have they said any thing injurious to the character of other English gentlemen?

AUTHOR. They have, Sir, both said and written a great deal against English gentlemen, and Bengal gentlemen too, as I will one day read and explain to you.

NABOB. Why you surprise me. Colonel Dow seemed to me to have devoted his time, to enquiries into the history of this country. His whole conversation turned that way. A Persian manuscript, or memoir, appeared to give him as much pleasure in the acquisition, as money. Indeed, he had his share of both. But as he lived on the best of terms with Lord Clive, Governor Verelst, and that best of all Christians, Governor John Cartier, and your other powerful men, as well as Sujah ul Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, Mahommed Reza Cawn, and many other of ours, what can he have said against them? As to Mr. Bolts, he was what
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we call a thorough bred merchant, whose predominant passion was the love of gain; to that principle he sacrificed every thing. You must have heard that he has written to his Banyan, and other country merchants here, that his affairs have turned out so bad, that he has been obliged to become bankrupt—and so pay all his debts at once. This news makes his friends ——— and ——— look white; for he owes to them, and their dependents, three hundred and forty thousand rupees on bond. But I do not like to talk of him. You know how infamous we think the character of a man, who acted so base a part as he did.

AUTHOR. You judge right, Sir: but even he, contemptible as he is, has met with patrons in England, where we English gentlemen of Asia, seem to have been proscribed in the lump. But what think you of Colonel Dow's insinuating in the introduction to his third volume, that such men as Mr. Vansittart, Lord Clive, Governor Verelst, &c. had consigned Nabobs to eternal rest, to make way for others, who was to pay for their instalments? Nay more, that Sujah ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, is the blackest of all villains, and Mahomed Reza Cawn not a whit better.

NABOB. Is it possible! But surely the characters of such men as Lord Clive, Mr. Vansittart, Verelst and Cartier, will secure them from the
venomous

venomous shafts of fifty such persons as Colonel Dow? As to his drawing such a picture of Sujah ul Dowlah, I can in some degree account for it. He wanted the Viziar to grant him, in the name of another person, the lease of some salt petre farms, which the Nabob had previously granted away. This Dow would not believe, and grew out of humour. But it is the most villainous ingratitude in him, to abuse Mahommed Reza; because to my certain knowledge, at the request of Governor Verelst, Dow was introduced to that Nabob at the city, and received from him some handsome presents.

AUTHOR. Very true, Sir; I have heard the same: but gratitude dwells not with grovelling souls, and Dow's is such. But so influenced are the prejudices of our countrymen now against us, that *the more infamous and furious the informer, the more readily is his history believed.*

NABOB. I am truly sorry for it. I am now an old man, and have not many years longer to continue in this world. I have, Mr. Author, seen very extraordinary changes in this kingdom, since the usurpation of Allaverdy Cawn. Many towns and villages have I seen desolated, burnt, and laid waste, by the Mahrattas. It is not our custom to wage war like Europeans; when we conquer, we destroy what we cannot carry off. The war with
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the English in 1756 (your file) was sudden, unexpected, and has been productive of very extraordinary consequences. Surajah ul Dowlah was a foolish, headstrong young man, and had many low, illiterate, evil counsellors about him. You remember these things as well as I do. But our intercourse with your nation, was in these days merely mercantile. We knew you not as warriors. Your personal and individual courage, was not unknown to us; but your numbers were too few, for us to apprehend any danger from you. As to the surprising revolution effected by the battle of Plassey, it was the work of God. Believe me, Mr. Author, on the news of that event reaching Moorshadabad, where I then resided, the panic was general; for we all thought that the English would, in revenge for what had happened the preceding year at Calcutta, have plundered and burnt the city; and what would have been worse than death to us, have defiled our wives, our daughters, and our temples. The dread and terror of such (as we thought) inevitable consequences of your victory, no words can describe. Even when proclamation was made the day following, that provided every body remained quiet in their houses, no harm should come to them, it was not believed. Many buried their wealth in secret places, about their house and gardens. Most of the great families (and mine amongst the rest) were prepared to destroy their women, had a general sack of the city commenced, as we

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all expected. It was extremely fortunate that there were in your camp, numbers of Sircars and Banyans, servants and attendants on the English army, who came voluntarily to our houses, and laughed at, and dispelled our fears. Many of those cunning rogues laid us under pecuniary contribution, the two or three first days after the battle, under promise of procuring from their masters, the English officers, Seapoy guards for our separate houses. All this ended with the proclamation giving notice of a New Nabob. But believe me, Mr. Author, had proclamation been made, that every house should be free from the pillage of the common soldiers, whose owner should bring into the English factory, what ready money he had in his house, the sums rendered, would have exceeded your utmost idea. What must have been our surprise and joy, when we found that nothing but peace and quietness were expected from us?

THE same dread spread far and wide over all the provinces, and the same sense of gratitude was expressed on assurances of safety. After such forbearance and moderation in you, so contrary to the custom of Asia, and even contrary to what you had experienced from us the year before at Calcutta, what power on earth had a right to limit our gratitude? We did make presents; not on the principle for which we worship the Devil, (*fear*,) but in return for your godlike and Christian forbearance.

Believe

Believe me, Mr. Author, I never heard that one house was plundered, one woman defiled, or one life lost, (except in the field, in consequence of the victory,) by the desire, and with the knowledge, of a European, in that whole affair. Some disorders arose, no doubt, from the violence of the troops of the defeated Nabob, who being much in arrears of pay, run away from the field, with intent to plunder the city, instead of doing their duty in defending it; but that was not much, and but of short duration; for they sought safety by throwing away their arms and accoutrements, and mingling with the common citizens, until Meer Jaffier was proclaimed, and then they entered into his service."

SUCH was the opinion of the Indians themselves, of the conduct of our countrymen, immediately after the battle of Plassey. Colonel Clive came home in 1760, and returned to Bengal, with the title of Lord Clive, in 1765. In the interval, Meer Jaffier had been silently deposed, for defect of ability to govern, and Cossim Ally Cawn installed in his room, who compelled the Company's managers, even the men who had made him Nabob, into a war of self defence; and the Nabob, Meer Jaffier was set up against him. But he did not long survive his second exaltation. He died after a tedious fit of sickness, partly from age, and partly from grief for the loss of his eldest son. By his will he

he left his friend, Lord Clive, then on his passage to Bengal, a very large sum of money, which that great man gave to establish the military fund, from which superannuated officers, as well as the widows of deceased officers, in the Company's service, receive a handsome annual allowance.

Lord Clive arrived in 1765, and found Cossim Ally Cawn expelled, and the country in peace : But he plainly saw, that the middle plan which he had formerly adopted, of leaving the civil government, and the collection of the revenues, in the hands of a family, whom, from a private station, he had raised to the throne, and keeping the direction of political affairs, and command of the army, in the hands of the Company, was, in fact, dividing the state against itself. To this *Imperium in Imperio*, we owe not only the war in Bengal, with Cossim Ally Cawn; but the ruin of the Carnatic, to a similar one on the coast, which I could prove, was I writing history. His Lordship saw it, and contrived the means to obtain from Shah Allum, then the mere nominal Emperor of Hindoostan, a grant of the dewanee, or the office of collector-general of the revenue for the Company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. From that moment there has, in fact, been but one power in Bengal, and it has secured peace to the provinces from that hour to this.

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There has been something extremely singular and ridiculous, in the whole conduct of the English government, with respect to Bengal. If ever the national banner was displayed in a just and honourable war, that with Surajah ul Dowlah was such; and by the law of nations, to retain conquests acquired in such a war, has hitherto been deemed lawful and right. But the English seem to have been terrified at the idea of their own success. They conquer a country in self defence, which they hesitate to keep, and want resolution to give up. Create a Nabob, to whom they give a kingdom, and become themselves his pensioners; but finding their idol a compound of tyrannic knave, and despicable fool, they make him a pensioner in his turn, to his son-in-law, Cossim Ally Cawn: but soon after finding Cossim to be all knave, without a particle of fool in his composition, they wish his removal. But had he not been a most dastardly coward, he would have convinced his makers, that he could do without them, and have driven them out of the kingdom to the south, instead of suffering them to drive him to the north. Embarrassed by their own policy, they saw no remedy, but again to fall down and worship the old calf, which they had a second time set up. Meer Jaffier died, and they recognized their sovereign in his second son: and things were running on in the old absurd channel of a double government, when Lord Clive arrived, who reversed the system; instead

instead of continuing the Company pensioners to the Nabob, he made the Nabob a pensioner to the Company. The power now was all their own; but they wanted to hide it from the world, so played the Nabob off as the Punch of the puppet show. This absurd policy, I have heard, was dictated to Lord Clive by the *Ministry*, to avoid involving the nation in disputes with the other European powers, whose subjects were settled in Bengal.

THE conducting of the dewannee, was a new branch of business; and it gave opportunity to a set of men, who had lately arrived from Europe with Lord Clive, to employ their talents. His Lordship came to Calcutta in 1765, and embarked for England in the beginning of 1767. It is between the date of his arrival, and the beginning of 1770, that I reckon the period the most productive of spurious Nabobs, of any in the English annals. Then it was, that a cheesemonger's son had the command of a very great army, and that a mite was turned into a general—And then it was, that persons who had been tainted with London air, returned to India at the most fortunate period for practising the lessons they had learned in England.

THE THIRD HEAD.

I THINK that the third volume of Colonel Dow's History of Hindoostan, was published about the
time

time the Committees were formed, in 1772. He was himself in England, soliciting promotion in the Company's service. That he had lived in a very great degree of friendly intercourse, and personal intimacy, with every one of the Governors of Bengal, from the capture of Calcutta in 1757, to the time he left Bengal in 1767, I am confident; that he had received favours from some of them, is as certain. What fortune he possessed, had been acquired at Bengal: nor is it in my memory, that he had any particular contest or dispute, with any Governor, or man in power, in India. I believe that he was one of the resigning officers, in their contest with Lord Clive and his Council, about the reduction of batta, or extra allowance to the army. But this was by no means a personal affair, or intended to affect any particular individual in the army, officer or private man. The Company found that their military expences at Bengal, exceeded their ability to support, and left nothing to themselves. Lord Clive, on his leaving England, had undertaken to reduce the military disbursements within proper bounds. Few men would have had spirit to have gone through it as he did; (but he was a heaven born General; which expression I understand to mean, a man born with vast military abilities, prodigious presence of mind in all possible situations of danger, and without a particle of fear in his whole composition; such a man was Lord Clive.) Many men who then warm-

ly opposed him, have since acknowledged the absolute necessity of the measure. That circumstance then, could not have induced Colonel Dow to insinuate, in the introduction to his third volume of Asiatic history, that his countrymen acting abroad, stuck at nothing, no, not even the sending Nabobs to sleep with their fathers, when it suited their avarice or ambition. Dreadful charge indeed! But as I feel a conviction on my mind, which amounts to certainty, that such an idea never for a moment had possession of any man's mind in Asia, not even of that of Colonel Dow himself, I boldly affirm, that it originated in Europe.

COLONEL Dow being dead, I shall, therefore, in compliance with the false charity established in the world, so far spare his memory, as to draw no conclusions from the infirmities of his private character, to support my argument. But this must not be understood to mean, that I am a convert to the doctrine. Colonel Dow, in his insinuations and allusions, has fixed no period, nor used any names, and in my opinion, this constitutes the essence of his crime, as it involves indiscriminately in the charge, the whole body of the Company's Governors, and their Council, who acted in Bengal, from the recapture of Calcutta, to the printing of the book: A charge so general, and undefined, must have been intended to raise, or continue, general odium. Instead of attempting to defend them
against

against so vague a charge, I will endeavour to shew, that the introduction in which those vile insinuations are contained, was fabricated in this country, and calculated to serve a particular purpose.

At the time that the third volume of Dow's history was in the press, an idea had been taken up by the Minister of the day, to claim the territory held by the East India Company, in behalf of the Crown. To facilitate this arbitrary measure, it was necessary to make use of every means to blacken the East India Company, and their servants abroad, in the eyes of the nation. Bolts was encouraged in his infamous publications. Dow was flattered, and induced to permit some plans, schemes, and general reflections, to be bound up with his third volume, to facilitate the great work in hand. Those who wish to see a good description of the whole ministerial scheme then carrying on in Parliament, in order to fleece, if not annihilate, the devoted East India Company, will do well to read the Right Honourable Mr. Edmund Burke's tract, called Observations on a late State of the Nation, published by J. Doddsley in Pall-Mall, in 1769, from page 88, to page 93 inclusive, where they will find a most curious description of that whole transaction.

IN India, Col. Dow was considered as a heavy, plodding, but most indefatigable, searcher after scraps of Asiatic history, and Persian manuscripts; and by dint of a laborious application to Asiatic languages, for a number of years, came at last to translate, by the medium of a Moorish linguist, from the Persian into English, tolerably well. His General History of Hindoostan, will remain in libraries, and be considered as a useful book of reference to future writers. But as to the introductory papers, plans, &c. they are not of his fabrication. Hints he may have furnished; but the work itself, is the production of a much abler penman, and the sentiments calculated to forward the business of the day. Dow's hints were dressed up and seasoned to the taste of the times, when the prejudice against all sorts of Indians, was at a sufficient height to admit into general credit, insinuations of the most infamous sort, for matters of fact. At the same time, the ridiculous, ostentatious, and contemptible conduct of some of the *spurious Nabobs*, justified the national opinion, grounded on false information, supported by vile insinuation, and sanctified by power.

THE FOURTH HEAD.

+ THE accumulated mass of false information relative to the famine; the illiberal conclusions of the Committees, respecting the general receipt of presents;

presents ; Dow's insinuations of secret murders , and Bolts's unjust statements of the inadequateness of the Mayor's Court, to an equal distribution of justice, to the English inhabitants of Calcutta, in Bengal, operated so completely on the minds of the public, as to enable the Ministry to put in, with a degree of uncommon success, for a share of Asiatic patronage. The absurdity, pernicious tendency, and inefficacy of the Supreme Court of Judicature, have been since experienced, detected, and exploded, and their powers trimmed down to the size of the old Mayor's Court. All the difference is, that the former mode of administering justice, cost the Company 2000*l.* per annum, and the present mode, by the Supreme Court, 100,000*l.* per annum. The former had no litigiousness in its construction, the latter nothing else. But the grand point gained on the side of the Ministry, was the nomination of the Governor and Council General to Bengal. It happened that Mr. Hastings, the gentleman who was Governor at that time, was a man of great abilities, great experience in the affairs of India, and of unblemished character. But General John Clavering, who was nominated to the Deputy Governorship, and the command of the army, carried with him a majority of the Council from England. Instead of entering cordially into the conduct of the administration, jointly with the Governor General, who had the experience of twenty-four years to direct his judgement, the majority

majority of the civil government, with an old vindictive foldier at their head, entered violently into a retrospective view of the measures of the late administration. Whenever, or where-ever, such impolitic, injudicious, and weak conduct is pursued, violent parties are instantly formed. Every man, who has spleen to gratify against the former men in power, join the new party. Candour, temper, truth, and fair dealing, are laid aside; and every mean art, every political subterfuge is employed, to ruin the former administration in the opinion of the world. The Majority, consisting of General John Clavering, Colonel George Monson, and one Philip Francis, a clerk from the war office, on the first meeting of the General Council, made known their violent intentions. They had left England impressed with the ideas which at that time very generally prevailed, viz. that there was not an honest man in the Company's service in India; and having the whole military and civil power in their hands, and of course the disposal of every place which should become vacant, and of every contract that should fall in, they boldly, and without the least disguise, commenced an attack, not only on the measures of the preceding administration, but of the Governor General's honour and integrity. All those who attempted to defend the old Council, or Mr. Hastings, whether in or out of the service, were proscribed; and no man was to expect any favour, or even to be treated with common decency

cy by the Majority, or their friends, who would not join in the general cry, to hunt down the Governor General. Some of the members of the former Council, disgusted at being superseded, after having served the Company great part of their lives, resigned the service, and returned to Europe. This was represented by the Majority, to their friends in power here, as proceeding from conscious guilt, and an eagerness to get out of harm's way. They reprobated former measures; declared they had come to the knowledge of such facts and circumstances, as obliged them to change their opinion of the abilities, integrity, and disinterestedness of Governor Hastings; gave a hundred hints of his delinquency; and in the first month of their administration, pledged themselves to the Company and the nation, that they would very shortly transmit to Europe, proof positive of all they said, or alluded to, in their several letters by the first ships which were dispatched after their arrival in the country.

When these advices arrived in England, people were thunderstruck. Hitherto the character of Mr. Hastings, had stood the test of the most severe scrutiny, both at the India House, and in both Committees of the House of Commons. At the time the Act passed, to transfer the appointment of Governor General and Council, from the Company to the legislative body of the nation, Mr.

Hastings

Hastings was Governor of Bengal; and not a man in, or out of Parliament, held up his finger to oppose his reappointment to the Governor Generalship for five years. How then were they surprised at hearing, that the new men had, in the course of a month, *a little month*, after their arrival in Bengal, discovered such acts of delinquency, as, on the truth and notorioufness of them, to pledge themselves in the most solemn manner to make them good.

THE names of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, were signed to the assertions. They were men of high military character, and unimpeached honour; that alone was sufficient to cause a difference in opinion all over the nation. People could not conceive that it was possible for such men to sign to such charges, without having in their possession, proof positive of the facts, to which they so solemnly subscribed. On the other side, in all the noise and scandal which, at this time, had been raised in the nation against the Nabobs, Mr. Hastings's name had never been mentioned with the least disrespect. How then could men of moderation and candour, give him up unheard in his own defence? But the Majority had crossed the *rubicon*; they had committed themselves too deeply to retreat; and their friends at the west, and at the east end of the town, bestirred themselves in their support: Nor would the most perfect innocence in
Mr.

Mr. Hastings, have saved him, had his competitor for the government, General Clavering, lived. Since his death, the whole charge has been examined and refuted, even to the most trifling circumstance. Again it has been brought forward, by a party in the India House, and in Parliament, as virulent and vindictive as the former; and again refuted to the disgrace of the party. The *War-Office Clerk* is now known, and his principles and virulence perfectly despised, by every man of candour in the kingdom. Totally deserted and neglected, the man has fallen back into his original rank and sphere of life, from whence nothing but ministerial influence, for some dirty service, could at first have lifted him, and where he must for ever remain a prey to his own gloomy reflection, a kind of out-cast in the midst of millions, without honour, credit, or consequence.

HAVING answered the four great charges which have been brought against the Indians in general, under the denomination of Nabobs, I shall proceed to a further explanation of the different orders of Nabobs.

I HAVE already made it clear, that there never was but one real English Nabob, and that was the great hero Lord Clive. Next come the spurious ones; and it is a most singular part of their character, that on their first return to England, their
fortunes

fortunes were moderate, and their conduct so prudent, as to give no cause of offence, and consequently they were, at that period, only *reputed* Nabobs : but being by nature of an ambitious, restless, avaricious, or vain disposition, they either lived above their *income*, or fancied they were too much neglected, and so took it in their heads to go back again to India.

Few of those who have been flattered with the servile and obsequious manners of the people of Asia, are calculated to plant turnips, and enjoy, in this country, the calm and insipid quiet of a country life. It requires manners rendered mild, and a temper soothed down to equality, by philosophical reflection on the absurd vanities of busy life, to enjoy such retreat. How few persons do we find blessed with such temper ! Here and there indeed, we meet a Governor John Cartier, and a General Joe Smith, who, feeling that they are but mere mortals, made up of the same materials as their poor neighbours, dispense the superflux to their indigent fellow creatures, sleep well a-nights, and thank God for the remainder.

THEY say that none but a mason can make a mason ; but it does not rest with an English Nabob to create others ; yet Lord Clive accidentally caused some miserable counterfeits to be imposed on the nation. The first part of the character of a spurious Nabob is, that he is a person who, by a long

long residence in India, had acquired a moderate independence, and returned with it to Europe; but from not having studied the art of happiness with a mere competence, or being seized with a fit of avarice, ambition, or of gambling extravagance and dissipation, which being the produce of the age, are to be met with at every corner, found himself, soon after his arrival, made so uneasy, as to be obliged to return again to India. There is no one man that I know, who has made but one voyage to India, that is intitled to the rank and title of a spurious Nabob; the character is incomplete without having studied the vices of the age in London. I wish the reader to run over in his mind, the conspicuous characters commonly called great Nabobs, and he will find my observation to be just. They leave London with the same reflection, as Jugurtha, the African Prince, formerly left Rome, and with a firm resolution never to return, but with the means to buy seats in Parliament, seats in the Direction, or at least seats in the temple of fame. Of good or bad, Pope says, the difference is a trifle.

THERE is one man indeed, whose fortune was so very small, after a residence in India of fourteen years, that when in England, he could not take rank with a Welsh Justice of the Peace, though he had filled high and important stations during his stay in Asia. He returned again, and has now been
near

near twelve years Governor of Bengal : but there is a kind of obstinacy in his disposition ; and he is so abominably self-willed, that in order to make the wondering people of this country understand his character rightly, I am obliged to create a rank on purpose for him. As Lord Clive was the only genuine and real Nabob, Governor Hastings is the single instance of a *simple Nabob*. He will neither make money himself, nor accept it when tendered to him. So silly and girlish is the man's desire to relieve the distresses of all his fellow creatures, that he cannot keep a *rupee*. If this is not folly in the extreme, I know not what is. But there are some kinds of madness that no medicine can cure ; and should Governor Hastings settle in a county in England, after his return, where the poverty and distress of the neighbourhood, happens to be very conspicuous, I would not give sixpence to be his heir.

THE above paragraph must be considered as digressional, and apart from the work. The character is new and uncommon, and I was obliged to find a niche on purpose for it.

WE come now to the *reputed Nabobs*, or mass of English gentlemen, who have served the East India Company in Asia, and who, after a long course of years, have returned to spend the remainder of their days, amongst their few surviving friends in
their

their native country. Would to heaven that this class were more numerous than they are. Of these I shall make no distinction, whether they acted in the civil, military, or marine service of the Company. Together, they form a distinct character, (before they were debased by too great a mass of members formerly of their own body, whose morals had been corrupted in this country, or of full grown, needy adventurers, perfect in nothing but the vices of the age, was thrown amongst them,) as amiable and perfect as human nature can any where boast. It is in the memory of every body, that the Bengal families were considered at home and abroad (indeed the same may be said of all the Presidencies) as the most generous, hospitable, humane, and charitable set of beings, of any in the world. This character existed only before the fatal year 1774, when the evil genius of Britain, in the Boston Port Bill, and the East India Regulating Bill, prepared the instruments for dismembering the empire. Prior to the year 1774, Asiatic gentlemen possessed a character marked and distinct; and I desire to be understood, by reputed Nabobs, men who had served in India before that time; for since, Ministry have found the Company's service a great gulf, capable of swallowing up a vast mass of that filthy matter, which for ever attends on power, in the shape of convenient tools in office, sycophants, and flatterers, the character has been vitiated, and almost destroyed. From the rank
hotbed

hotbed of a Court, sprung the *musbroom* Nabobs. Look at the list of needy adventurers sent over by court and ministerial influence, and there will be found professors in the art of gambling, horse-racing, boxing, cock-fighting, stage playing, swindling, and every branch of modern genteel science, insomuch, that in a few years, Calcutta has become a sink of iniquity, almost as infamous as London itself.

✶ THE *reputed* Nabobs have marks by which they may be known, as well as the *spurious*; and as they have spread themselves all over the kingdom, they may be distinguished in the following manner. I would have their neighbours, both in town and country, before they determine on the character which they ought to bear amongst them, to satisfy themselves in the following circumstances. Did their new neighbour go out in the East India Company's service at sixteen, or not more than eighteen years of age, either as a writer, cadet, assistant surgeon, or midshipman for the Bombay marine service? Was he full fifteen years in the service at one time? Was he in the course of that time ever suspended, mulcted in his rank, or dismissed the service for corrupt practices? Did he come home during that time? no matter on what account, for London air corrupts Bengal manners so abominably, that he will not do: But if not, and that all the other queries shall be answered as they

they ought to be, then depend upon it, their new parishioner, or associate, will turn out to be a dutiful child, generous and kind to all his relations and old friends, charitable to all mankind, and merciful even to animals ; the very best and most considerate of Landlords ; a good paymaster, if a tenant ; never in arrears to working or trades people ; averse above all things to law suits, or disputes of every kind ; rather than enter into which, he would *turn the other cheek* ; may be swindled, but never swindles ; drinks the King's health, prays for him, his family, and the state ; pays parish rates without grumbling ; and does in all things as he would others should do unto him. Such are a great majority of the Asiatic gentlemen, whom I distinguish by the appellation of *reputed Nabobs*. And I appeal to the experience of every candid man in this kingdom, who has had transactions of any kind with them, for the truth of what I say. A desperate spendthrift, or a wretched miser, were characters so very uncommon, that I declare most solemnly, that in a residence in India of more than twenty years, prior to 1774, I never knew above two or three of either, and they were so universally neglected and despised, that their names were always mentioned with the utmost degree of contempt. Hospitality being always found where the due medium between those extremes prevails, the Asiatic gentlemen have been deemed hospitable even to a proverb.

It may appear that I express myself somewhat warmly on this part of my subject, and I own that I feel so. I spent the best part of my life in that agreeable society, and on my soul I declare, that I never knew a European character completely vicious, that did not come to that country turned of twenty-five years of age; and few of those who arrived amongst us when they were past forty, that did not appear to us (who left England young) to be monsters in meanness, avarice, or vice of one sort or other. The famous Mr. Bolts was ruined by the earthquake at Lisbon, and came to Bengal a full grown mercantile monster, aged twenty-five. Major Baggs found his way to Calcutta nobody can tell how; and though a cousin of his (Mr. Philip Francis) held a very high and important station in the Company's service at that Presidency, so averse was every denomination of men, from entering into any degree of intimacy with such *high famed* adventurers, that he marched back as he came, and has been abusing the Indians ever since his return, which they consider as the highest panegyric from such a man.

I THINK that I can account for this superiority of character in a great majority of all those who have gone young to, and stayed long in India. Every body knows, that what I have related with respect to the selection of the young men from amongst creditable families, is true; and it is as
true

true, that in general, boys of sixteen, sprung from such families, are well instructed in the moral and religious duties. On their arrival in India, they are kindly and hospitably received ; nor is there any example of fordid or mean vice before their eyes to corrupt their morals. Fashionable cloaths, a good horse to ride on, and a bed-maker, are, I am afraid, inevitable. To this the habit of smoaking a Hooka may be added, and their sum total of vice is acknowledged. A drunken or gambling writer, (if per chance such appeared,) nobody of credit would associate with ; and from necessity, they soon quitted those degrading habits, which never fail to ruin those with whom they long sojourn.

WHEN they turn their eyes on the natives around them, the practice of the moral and domestic virtues, in the highest degree of perfection, strikes on their fancy. A people so mild, so docile, so obliging, and so complaisant, both warm and charm a young and well trained mind. The more they know of them, the more they like them. The manners of a people must be alluring, who are known to venerate their parents almost to Idolatry ; who never beat, and hardly ever chide, a child, male or female ; who regard all animals as having been formed like themselves, by the finger of God, whose life they have no more right to take away, or to put it to corporal pain wantonly, than that of a brother or sister. A young man, well instructed

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in the principles of the Christian religion, before he leaves England, and passing his time from sixteen to thirty, or perhaps forty years of age, in continual intercourse with a people so famed for the practice of the great and small morals, may, by chance, be a bad member of society; but I should not go amongst a people so trained, to look for him. Bold assertions go for nothing on either side. Our enemies say, that we Indians are a proud, insolent, and rapacious people; that we have, by our avarice, driven to distress, ruin, and death itself, millions of unhappy Indians. To such daring, vague, and indefinite charges and assertions, I oppose the general tenor of conduct of the India gentlemen, who have returned to this kingdom within the last twenty years: If that will justify such charges, any thing that I can say to the contrary, will not acquit them. But if, on an honest and fair scrutiny, men of candour shall own, that the India gentlemen in general, are generous, humane, and charitable, good subjects, dutiful children, fond husbands, indulgent fathers, kind masters, and hospitable neighbours, I would then ask this simple question, Is it likely that men, who went abroad so properly instructed, and who, after their return to England, have acted the part of such excellent citizens for the remainder of their lives, could possibly, when abroad, have been guilty of cruelties, so infamous and diabolical, as have in general terms been laid to their charge? To the answer that

that every man's heart shall give to the above question, I leave the cause of my friends.

I HAVE observed, that since the year 1774, things have taken a wide turn; and that there have been another race of Nabobs sprung up, whom I have called *musbroom Nabobs*. It may be right to explain myself, and describe them.

It is a very old observation, that vice in great empires, is most prevalent in the capital, and that it decreases in proportion to the distance you move from it. Would to heaven that this observation had not so lately been verified with respect to England. The mother country was too depraved to hold the colonies longer in subjection. Governors sent from hence, were by much too corrupt to govern a new, a virtuous, and growing people. Nor shall we hold our possessions in the east long, after the present mode of training up young men, (from writers and cadets, to counsellors, and from the best of them, making our governors, and commanders in chief of the army,) shall be changed into that of sending governors, counsellors, and commanders of the army, from hence. The experiment has already been tried in more instances than one, and stands a proof of what I say. But our empire is on the decline. We are a vicious, corrupt, and debased people. Interest and party governs every thing. Experience is of no use; and

the best admonition or advice, is but thrown away. Rome, in the latter days of the Republic, was convulsed almost to civil war, on the annual appointment of the executive officers; and they, when that year of tumult was out, were indulged in another, to ransack the provinces, in order to reimburse themselves their election expences. What did not the poor people suffer from the rapacity of consuls, pro-consuls, their secretaries, sub-secretaries, and all their train of greedy officers, who, knowing their time was short, spared nothing! Our Ministry have sent one precious batch of full grown and hungry statesmen, already to India; and nothing but the squabble amongst themselves, for the home made bread and butter, has hitherto prevented their sending another. Annual sets, as at Rome, they can never send; but triennial will do the business full as well. An hungry Lord, or an hungry Baronet, like a Scotch creeper, bites sore. How would our Statesmen laugh at me, if I was to address the King (God bless him) to accept the following arrangement for his Ministry, to conduct the government of this country under him!

- *Mahommed Reza Cawn*, Prime Minister;
- *Caunto Baba*, Chancellor of the Exchequer;
- *Nobb Kissen*, Secretary of State;
- *Coffonaut Baba*, Ditto Northern Department;
- *Typoo Saib*, Commander in Chief;
- *Call Roy Nant*, First Lord of of the Admiralty;

Ram

Ram Cunt Roy, Archbishop of Canterbury ;
Ram Cunt Vencra, Lord Chancellor ;
Juggut Seat, Paymaster of the Forces ;
 And so down to a Groom of the Stole.

I say that our Statesmen would laugh at me, if I were to propose such a plan. I wish I could have laughed at them, when they sent an arrangement equally ridiculous to govern Bengal. General Clavering was not by half so good an officer as Typoó Saib, nor Colonel Monson half so wise as Nobb Kissen—Though Philip Francis may have been as great a knave as Juggut Seat.—What is that to the purpose? Scoundrels are plenty as rats in all countries; there is no lack of them.—But this I am sure of, my list of ministers would be as capable of conducting the affairs of this government, by the help of the understrappers in the public offices, as the others were to do the same duty at Bengal. If our provinces abroad, are to become sinecures, for the love of goodness, let the officers who are to tug the labouring oar, be educated in some such manner as the Company's servants *are now* from their childhood up—And then any person may go out, merely to receive the reward of their secret services at home.

SCHEMING I find is catching. I have another started up in my mind; and with as much truth as ever Mr. Edmund Burke possessed, I declare, that

that I offer it to the public dog cheap, if not *under prime cost*, as a scheme of economy: at the same time I pledge myself, with as solemn a look, and as grave a face, as the orator is wont to do, that neither myself, my brother, ~~my son,~~ *nor my cousin*, will benefit sixpence from it. If the ministry will make me paymaster of the forces at Bengal, or give me a pension, for my plan, well and good; and I can assure them that I want it, as much as any patriot in or out of their train. It may also lead to a *coalition*; for money is a great cleanser of the optic nerves; and so weak is poor human nature, that I am afraid the certainty of four thousand pounds a year, would induce me to burn my book, and change my principles. There are high precedents enough; and lawyers say, that is sufficient to warrant any measure.

It appears to me, that the Ministry are in great want of patronage to feed the craving crowd, and that there is little or none left but in the east; at the same time the Proprietors of India Stock, have a confidence in their present set of servants. Now if my plan should suit the conveniency of, and satisfy both parties, I hope to come in at least for a sop in the pan. The Governor of Bengal, has a salary of 25,000*l.* per annum; the Commander in Chief 6000*l.* and 10,000*l.* more, as second in Council; each of the other three Council General have 10,000*l.* per annum; all this comes to 71,000*l.* per annum. But as their train of followers are

(21.)

are generally as hungry a set of curs as their masters, I will add the other 25,000*l.* per annum for their use. Both sums make up what the citizens call an annual plum. If the Ministry will be content with this sum, until the end of the Company's present grant of the monopoly, which is, I think, to run until 1790, the Expence to the Company will be 700,000*l.* and as this must above all things be paid regularly, the Lion of the day will come in for his share; for no man in power should dispose of it for a greater length of time than the present year. I say, if this should be accepted by the patriots of the hour, and I see no cause for their refusing so reasonable a proposal, the Company, no doubt, will come into it; because it would secure to them a set of servants whom they like; prevent ignorant men from being sent to confound, perplex, and ruin their affairs; and put an end to the eternal scuffle amongst the *ins* and *outs*, about who should send *good men* to Asia to retrieve their affairs; and what is best of all, it would ascertain their expences, which, in the other mode never can be known.

If the reader should be displeased with the above digression, the best excuse I can offer is, that somehow or other, Mr. Edmund Burke came across my imagination; and there is no such thing as separating the associate ideas of that great statesman, and patriotic plans of economy.

IN 1773, Governor General Hastings, by the treaty of Benares, added largely to the revenues of the Company, insomuch, that the gross receipts of revenue which passed through the hands of Englishmen, in the Bengal provinces, and the territories of our allies, amounted to upwards of four millions sterling annually; a sum far superior to the vast expences of our national peace establishment. Where such a revenue is permanently fixed, and regularly collected, many persons will find lucrative employments. How many votes in the House of Commons, would not the direction of such a revenue, procure a Minister in this country? How many patriots would loll in their chariots, from salary, sinecure, emolument of place, and perquisite of office?

GENERAL Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, did not bring many greedy followers with them: the reason was this; the East India Company reprobated the measure of sending out the principals themselves, in the strongest terms, and of course took all the care they could, that as few greedy dependents should go with them as possible. Some did get out, as well with them, as with the Judges of the Supreme Court; and from these few favourites, sprung up the first of our mushroom Nabobs. Innovation from this moment took place of that regular succession, which, in the Company's service, had hitherto maintained order

order and discipline. The Ministry had, by the Act of the Thirteenth of the King's reign, to regulate India affairs, snatched the great patronage at Bengal, out of the hands of the Court of Directors; and they, in their turns, wrested out of the hands of their servants abroad, a portion of theirs. This scuffle between the Ministry of the Crown, and the Ministry of the Company, introduced many pernicious innovations into the service. By the same Act, the constitution of the Company was effectually changed, from a democracy to an aristocracy, or rather an oligarchy. Instead of twenty-four Directors being elected annually, by the Proprietors at large, six only were elected for four years. The number of Proprietors were reduced one half, by raising the sum necessary for a qualification to vote, from 500*l.* to a 1000*l.* stock; and the annual house list, with which the Ministry had formerly no concern, became now intirely at their disposal. The Directors voted in for four years, like our Members of Parliament for seven, soon forgot, or despised, their constituents, and turned their minds to the securing a return in the Direction, when their rotation year should be out, by the most servile obedience to ministerial mandates.

THE nomination to writerships in the Company's service, was claimed, and privately enforced, from the west end of the town. The Directors, afraid to deny, and unwilling to lose their own lucrative commerce

commerce that way, the number of annual appointments was increased, and the civil list expenses abroad, immensely overloaded. It was the same with appointments of military officers, even down to cadets ; and the Company's military list of officers of all ranks, in less than three years, were more than doubled.

If there was a Member of Parliament, nay even a leading officer in a ministerial borough, who had a brother, son, or nephew, whose extravagance and vices made it impossible for them to stay at home, the East India Company must take him off the Minister's hands. As their power and patronage died away in the west, their claims on the Company increased, until the whole filthy offal of a luxurious and depraved nation, including some renegado American loyalists, came to be exported like felons to the East Indies. Innovation, where it once enters, spreads its infection like a plague. The Directors, stripped of their official patronage by the Ministry, peremptorily seized that of their responsible servants abroad. At the same time the new Majority at Bengal, looked over the Directors heads, to watch the smiles of Ministers, by whom they had been created, and were promised to be supported. Crowds of hungry adventurers found their way to Asia, unknown and unconnected with the Company, and brought with them orders, commonly called recommendations, running in this strain :

“ Sir,

"Sir,

"The bearer is a near relation, or particular friend, of my Lord Tripplevote. He must be served. A contract will do. The man is moderate in his desires. Thirty thousand pounds, in three or four years, is all he wishes.

"Yours, &c.

"N. B. His Uncle commands four Votes at St. Stephen's."

In the midst of the war, and from the total loss of America, scores of these worthy characters obtained such kind of recommendatory orders; and to every man's reflection I shall leave it, to inform him how this number will be increased by a peace.

WELL may the Company complain of distress and embarrassment in their circumstances and affairs. If war has not destroyed them; peace will. Let any man attend at the East India House, when their annual ships are preparing to sail, and observe the crowds of spendthrifts, sharpers, and swindlers of all sorts, who are attending with recommendations to the Directors for appointments, or even for orders, to go out to India. The reason privately assigned, is, they must be sent out, or they will most certainly bring disgrace on a worthy family,
by

by meeting their deserts in being hanged at home. The avenues to the India House, are perfectly barricadoed and blocked up, by bumbailiffs, catchpoles, tipstaves, and sheriffs officers, and their dark visaged followers, watching for their prey, insomuch, that strangers and foreigners, have often, in passing by on court days, mistaken the East India House, for a general lock-up house for all the knaves and swindlers in the nation.

FROM this worthy race of emigrants, are selected the *musbroom Nabobs*; and so numerous have that tribe of late become, that I now take this opportunity to warn our merchants and tradesmen, against trusting of them. With all their vices, every body allows that the East Indians are good paymasters; and I shall prove, that the *reputed* Nabobs really are so; but under that description, a swindler, who has been in the East Indies but for a year, may return a well instructed *musbroom* Nabob, and ruin thousands; and most earnestly I intreat our honest merchants and shop-keepers, not to give credit to men, merely because they have served in India, before they have enquired properly, whether the person is a *reputed* or *musbroom* Nabob.

SINCE I have been in England, I have had various opportunities of observing an inconsistency in the opinions and conduct of very worthy people. In country families, an idea universally prevails, that

that the East India gentlemen had made their fortunes abroad, by the most cruel and rapacious acts of barbarity to the poor natives; and this their opinion, so very injurious to the great bulk of Asiatic gentlemen, had almost induced me to have given a list of every man who had served the Company at Bengal, from the year 1750, to the year 1780; and to have set opposite to their names, in columns, the time they had served, the means they had of obtaining an honest independence, and the reputed fortunes with which they left India; with some anecdotes of their real characters, &c. As an old Indian, I have a very strong desire of separating the wheat from the chaff, and setting my countrymen right in their opinions of the real characters of the gentlemen who have served in Asia. At present, I am not fully determined, and therefore shall go on to observe, that if the English country gentlemen and their families, continue in their bad opinion of the gentlemen who have served in Asia, they will do well to lay by that strong desire, which prevails in every one of them, to have a son or two, and perhaps a daughter, sent out to India. For if when things were conducted in the manner I have described them to have been, prior to 1774, the morals of the young men (as they would insinuate) could not be preserved from being corrupted and destroyed, what chance will they stand now, when half the worthless scoundrels in the kingdom, are likely to be sent out there, to prevent their being
hanged

hanged at home ? But, says a fond mother, my boy has had such excellent principles instilled into him, and so much care has been taken of his education, that no bad example will corrupt his morals ; and so say all mothers and fathers too ; it is our general propensity. Nay, I believe it is in our very nature to hope the best from the conduct of our own children, in the same circumstances that we should predict the worst to happen to those of our neighbours. One thing I would recommend to their notice, and that is, that whereas the parents of the present *reputed* Nabobs, had as good an opinion of their children, as the fathers and mothers of the rising generations, can possibly have of theirs ; therefore prudence ought to dictate, though charity shall be quite dumb : That in order to avoid the effects of the *lex talionis*, by the contemporaries of their children, believing and reporting every idle tale which may be invented and circulated to their prejudice, they should themselves avoid believing and propagating the lies of the day, against their own contemporaries who have served in India.

THERE are a few facts, to which I beg to draw the attention of all parents, who are aiming to have their sons sent out to India. Since the æra of mushroom Nabobs, some too or three dozen of that race have returned to England, and figured away with all the folly and absurdity of their great prototypes, the spurious ones, as far as their hastily acquired riches

riches have extended, and are much oftener mistaken for *reputed* Nabobs, than their worthy superiors. Since the importation of this class, it has been generally reported, and as credulously believed, that a young man going out a writer in the East India Company's service, provided that he was sober, industrious, and careful, might be enabled, from the advantages of his rank and situation; to return in eight, ten, or twelve years at the very most, with what the world *now* allows to be a decent independency, forty or fifty thousand pounds; and thus do fond parents delude themselves into the hope, that the young *Nabob* abroad, will return home in time, and with fortune sufficient to help to provide for his younger brothers and sisters. The last part of the hope I would not discourage; for Indians bred are generous on principle, honour their parents, and love their relations; but the time in which the fortune is to be made, is, I fear, much too limited; and for the following reasons.

THE present Governor of Bombay, William Hornby, Esq. has been forty-two years in the Company's service at that Presidency; some of his Council above thirty years; and all the others more than twenty five; and what will surprise much more, the first twenty-five servants next below the Council, have been each of them more than twenty years in the service at Bombay.

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At Madraſs, the preſent Governor, Lord Macartney, is out of the queſtion. Whatever his Lordſhip's abilities may be, his introduction into that ſervice, in bar to the right of ſo many old ſervants of the Company, was a cruel ſtretch of miniſterial power: for all the members of his Council, have ſerved the Company twenty years; and the firſt thirty ſervants immediately on the liſt, next to the Council, have ſerved at the ſame Preſidency, from fifteen to twenty years.

At Bengal, people would imagine that, conſidering the maſſacres of the Black Hole and Patna, the fortune of war, and the rapid deſtruction which is ſometimes made from the unwholeſomeness of the climate, and ſudden acquisition of fortune moving others out of the way, that the preſent ſet of miniſtering and reſponſible ſervants, muſt be of ſhort ſtanding. However, the fact is juſt the reverſe; for the Governor General has been thirty-three years in the Company's ſervice. His Council indeed are new men; who, like the nine of diamonds, and knave of clubs, at brag, I call makers of *mushroom Nabobs*. They have been forced on the Company by miniſterial influence, as Lord Macartney was: but the twelve Members of the Board of Trade, have ſerved the Company at that Preſidency, from twenty to thirty years; and the thirty ſervants next in rank to the Board of Trade, have been in the ſervice from ſixteen to twenty years.

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That fact may be said of the Company's fourth Presidency, Fort Marlborough or Bencoolen, and of their Supercargoes at the China Factory. The above detail of absolute facts, I take to be the best mode of refutation which I could give, to innumerable ungenerous assertions, which, for the last seven years, have been imposed on the public, relative to the rapid fortunes said to have been acquired by the gentlemen who have served, and are now serving, the East India Company in Asia.

I cannot conclude my observations on the different degrees and orders of Nabobs, without paying some small attention to the King of the mushroom tribe. Philip Francis, Esq. merits every personal attention from me, that it can possibly be in my power to pay him. This gentleman went out of his way to do me a great injury. He invented a most impudent falsehood against me, and caused it to be entered on the face of the East India Company's records, where it now remains uncanceled. I have called upon him to support his assertions with proof, or candidly to recall them. He will do neither. I have, therefore, a right to address myself to him in the most pointed manner: for I own that it does not satisfy me, that he has been guilty of the same base and mean conduct towards my betters. This gentleman was a clerk in one of the public offices, and in passing accounts, became useful to the great contractor Calcraft, (a genuine

German *army* Nabob, if the making an immense fortune, nobody can tell how, implies one.) He was brought forward as a proper assistant, to be joined with General Clavering and Col. Monson, as a Bengal Counsellor. He submitted, as other men of his stamp often do, to bear a rider; that is, to have some other ministerial tool saddled on him, for one fourth of his salary during his stay abroad. When he left England, the East India Company supplied him with money to pay his debts, which money he had to repay in India. His vanity was so prevalent, and his meanness so great, that he fell into contempt with every honest man in the settlement. Some few informers and sycophants, were the only persons that would keep him company. One of them, though in the Company's service, stooped to become his *pimp*. They were both caught in the house of a married man, on a concerted plan of debauching his wife. The gentleman's servants secured Mr. Francis to a chair, with intent to keep him until their master should come home; but he *bellowed* and *roared* out in such a dastardly manner, that the neighbouring gentlemen came to his relief, and in consideration of his rank and station in the settlement, released him. For this gentleman-like action, he was sued in the Supreme Court, and cast in 5000*l.* damages, with costs of suit. He was mean beyond all description in his conduct, insomuch, that he first invited people to live with him, and then charged them

them with their proportion of housekeeping. In short, he was held in such general contempt, that it would appear invidious even in me, who have been so basely used by him, to relate the well attested anecdotes of his consummate meanness. But his rank obliged him to live in a stile which, in a country like that of Bengal, consumed great part of his ostensible income : The payment of the *rider's* allowance, and the support of a very numerous family in this country, must have consumed the remainder. If then this man has money, he best knows how he came by it, nor will any body envy him the possession. He used to stile himself *the fifth part of a King* : I have done more for him, and placed him at the head of the *upstart*, or *musbroom Nabobs*. Heaven knows that race has multiplied prodigiously, insomuch, that they have nearly destroyed all distinction of Asiatic character, and for that reason, amongst others, I have been induced to class them ; and lest the reader should not recollect them, I will recapitulate the several degrees, and their present heads, or Presidents.

Lord Clive, of immortal memory, was the first, and only genuine and true Nabob. *

GENERAL Richard Smith, Chairman and President of the *spurious* class of Nabobs. These (thank God) for the honour of our country, and of the human race, are not numerous ; but they make up

in bulk, impudence, and weight of metal, what they want in numbers.

These *reputed* Nabobs are the most numerous body, and now that the nation in every part, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland included, have had full time to be convinced of the general and true stamp of character, which this class of gentlemen deserve in society, I boldly refer to their experience of them for the decision. Should our present violent passion for innovation continue, and Englishmen determine, that as the empire becomes less, we want more members to represent us in Parliament, amongst other classes of men, I see not why the *reputed* Nabobs should not have two members to represent them: In that case, I propose Governor John Cartier, Esq. of Bedgebury, in Kent, for the civilians, and General Joe Smith, Esq. of Bath, for the military order.

As to the upstart tribe, or class of *mugbraam* Nabobs, they have a *king* already, in Mr. Philip Francis, like their honest predatory brethren, the *giffes*; nor do I know a more worthy member. Mr. C. Goring (the evidence whom even Mr. Burke blushed for) would not, I suppose, contest it with him. However, as much may be said on both sides, I shall not decide the matter, but leave it to the upstart tribe to determine, whether Mr. Francis or Mr. Goring shall be their representative.

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As Lord Clive stands single and alone, as a genuine Nabob, at the head of this list, so Governor General Hastings, equally unsupported, brings up the rear as a *simple Nabob*. However, as this last gentleman is still abroad, I am in hopes that means will be used, to check and controul his benevolent disposition in such a manner, as that so much may be saved out of his ample salary, as will enable him to bring home sufficient to live decently on, without danger of becoming chargeable to the parish. This gentleman ought to be held up as an example *in terrorem*, to all future Governors in India, to induce them, in time, to take care, and choose the better side of the alternative, submitted to their option by the good people of this country, viz. to get money, and so be called *knave*, or to come home poor, and be deemed *fool*.

If I was not an enemy to egotism, I should find a rank for myself; for my case is curious and singular, considering that I was thirty years in India, and now write this in a one eyed garret, sixty steps from the ground, and the ladder taken away. The experience I had in so long a course of time, viz. from 1750 to 1780, induces me to think that I could give some good advice; but then I am checked again, from reflecting, that advice in its nature, is like tar water, which many recommend, but nobody will take. However, I will venture at one simple dose, which, whether taken or not, will do no harm, should it do no good.

SERIOUSLY

SERIOUSLY and positively, it is my opinion, that in order to govern such parts of the East Indies as we may retain, properly, and to make it truly useful to this country, the men who are intended to govern it, both civil and military, should be trained up from early youth in that country, as was the case formerly. Had our governors in the west, been all Americans born, and Governor General Hastings not been interrupted in the manner that he was, by the sending out of the obstinate and vindictive General Clavering, the impatient and sarcastic Colonel Monson, and the artful and self-interested Philip Francis, to disturb and thwart all his measures in the manner that they did, for years together, our empire would not have been dismantled in the west, nor our power in the east, shaken to its foundation, as it has been, in consequence of the furious divisions in the General Council at Bengal.

I FEAR that the full grown statesmen of this Island, are now too much corrupted, to be trusted, with safety, in the government of our foreign possessions. One of my reasons for making the above assertion, is this : General Clavering, at the time he left England, was reckoned to be as honest a man as any in it, but it was one of his maxims, and he often declared it, never to trust any man in public office, with the care, or disposal, of public property; for that all the men whom he had ever
known

known in office, were most abominably corrupt, without a single exception. Were such sentiments proper for a man to possess, who was intended to have ruled over ten millions of people? I think not: And I am convinced, that had General John Clavering lived to have come to the government of Bengal, his reign would have exhibited scenes of the most suspicious and brutal tyranny. Had Mr. Philip Francis come to the government, he would have gone to the other extreme; for his maxim was that of 'Live and let live.' How it should have entered into the heads of our Ministers, that a mercantile kingdom can best be managed by a military head, is to me astonishing; all experience, all history, cries aloud against the political absurdity. General Elliot mounted from Calpe into the regions of fame; yet at Bengal, with nothing but military ideas in his head, he might have been imposed on, deceived, and betrayed, by the most worthless and contemptible of the human race, as General Clavering most certainly was. About a year before the General died, Colonel Monson had fallen a prey to vexation, assisted by the unhealthiness of the climate. This circumstance giving back the majority, and of course the government, into the hands of Mr. Hastings, the General had time to cool and reflect. He saw the million crowd to the Governor General's levee, whilst his own was left almost desolate: nor was a man to be seen about him, but a few desperate informers; such as La-

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cam, Goring, Wallworth, and two or three more of the same stamp : whilst the only men not changed in their attention and behaviour towards him was the Governor General, and his friend Counsellor Barwell. But his haughty spirit could not stoop to own that he had been deceived. Disappointment had soured his mind, and torn to pieces his constitution. He broke out in boils all over his body, and in the searching and trying month of August, fell a sacrifice to violence, obstinacy, and misinformation, leaving in legacy to his friend Mr. Francis, his enmity to Governor General Hastings, whom he could not forgive, because he had most cruelly injured Peace by his means. I hope that our rulers will think how much has been lost in so short a time, and benefit a little by experience. If Governor General Hastings be then guilty of any act of delinquency, at least give him a fair trial, and not drag him away with dishonour from a station, which he has so long and ably filled, merely because an orator by trade, and his *beau-nourable friend*, as he calls him, the President of the College of *spurious* Nabobs, will be grieved by his removal.

No doubt but that there is something outrageous in national reflections, and I well remember that my impatience under the appellation of *Taffer* cost me, in my younger days, many a bloody nose; but however, an Asiatic sun has evaporated most of those

those inflammable humours. But some how or other, I feel hurt at the seeming indifference of almost the whole English Senate, as to our concerns in Asia; whilst a Scotch Lawyer, and an Irish Patriot, affect to be so much agitated, and apparently concerned, for consequences in that quarter of the empire. To convince us of their disinterestedness in this business, I think Mr. Burke would do well to recall his cousin, Mr. William Burke, from the court of a Prince, where he can have no possible right to be, but with permission of the East India Company, during the term of their charter. The story of Mr. Edmund Burke, having about two years ago, applied to, and obtained from Lord North, letters of credence for his cousin's introduction to the Tanjorean Rajah, appears almost impossible. And I could wish that the Lord Advocate would give some better proof of his disinterestedness in the affair, than that of taking so much pains to push forward a countryman and friend of his.

Natural philosophers say, that there is in every particle of matter of which this world is composed, some small portion of that active element, fire; and I believe that in all bodies politic, compose them how you will, there must exist some particles of energy. In order to investigate an intricate affair fully and properly, Committees are formed for the purpose. When their reports are made to

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the body from whom they were detached, credit, no doubt, should be given to the sentiments of a majority of the Committee; but surely the superiority of obtaining information on all the circumstances, does not imply that their judgements thereon, are infallible; in particular, if it shall be observed, that the minds of the Chairman, and other leading members of the Committees, have been by any means warped to the prejudice of individuals, whose conduct they have had in charge to examine. It is the opinion of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, that "*our natural disposition leads all our enquiries rather to persons than to things.*" He has himself proved the assertion to be true, in labouring through more than half a dozen voluminous reports at the Select Committee, without having been able for a moment, to tear himself from the pursuit of personal invective, so as to pursue the true line of public duty. What have the House heard or learned from him, and his honourable friend the General, but elaborate commendations of each others abilities, (nauseous beyond all parallel,) and violent Philippics against Governor General Hastings, and others, whom the honourable Chairman considers to be his private enemies? Notwithstanding this, how does the honourable gentleman take fire, when charged with a fact which nobody denies; that of restoring men to office dismissed by his predecessors, without assigning any reason. After this, is he the man who shall
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throw the first stone at a character such as that of Governor Hastings, whilst he is out of all possibility of answering for himself?

IN 1772 and 1773, the invectives of the Committee's managers were more general. General Burgoyne, one of the Chairmen, declared, that the Indians in a lump, were rotten to the very core. Such general expressions suited well with the then designs of the Ministry: They were aiming at the whole patronage of Asia; and therefore, to damn the Company and their servants in a body, were the orders given out by the managing party, to their mouth-piece, Burgoyne. Poor man! how has he since had cause to deplore the influence of the very men, whose dirty jobs he undertook to forward and direct! How sorely has he felt the shafts of calumny, shot off by ministerial tools, against his own conduct in America! In suffering his impetuosity, and to great contempt of his enemy, (a great fault in a General,) to hurry him into that peculiar situation, where to advance, or to retreat, was equally impossible; where to fight, was to commit murder; and where to surrender a large, well armed, well disciplined army, to a mere boorish militia, with staves and pitchforks,—was no disgrace. The rotten Indians, as he called us, in compliance to the will of his masters, have pitied his misfortunes, and blamed the men who refused him a hearing in self defence.

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How pointed and direct were the queries put by the Committee of 1772, to the Chairman of the Select Committee of 1782!—"Had you any concern in the mint? In what rupees did you pay the King his tribute?"—The answers that were given to such clear and simple queries, would have done honour to the first born son of Loyola; and marked General Smith in a particular manner, for an honourable friend to the Right Honourable Mr. Edmund Burke. For ten years afterwards, we find him placed in the same chair, directing a Committee, in pursuit of the same game, aided and assisted by the very right honourable gentleman, who, in the most pointed and direct terms, in his Observations on a late State of the Nation, above referred to, condemned the whole conduct of the former Committees; *who*, severe as they were, reported, in general terms, the evidence they had received, without stooping to proscribe individuals.

THE sudden revolutions in human affairs, are subject matter for observation to all orders of society. Churchmen lament, and call them punishments inflicted by Heaven, on wilful sinners. Philosophers regard them as marks held out by Providence, to signify the vanity of all worldly possessions. Politicians watch their crisis, and turn them to their own advantage. Bar-
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bers boys relate them in an attractive tone of voice, to draw off the attention of their customers, from the piercing effluvia of filthy fuds, and torture of bad razors. Even I have been amused by them; and with none more than the particular conduct of particular Committees of the House of Commons, at different periods, on the same subject.

I HAD always considered a censure of the House of Commons of England, as a very serious thing; insomuch, that a man who should be so unhappy as to have been so censured by the representatives of the people, in Parliament assembled, would be in much such a situation, as a person in the days of Henry II. when he had been excommunicated by the church; but I find that I have been mistaken; it operates rather as a letter of recommendation in his favour. The truth is, the juggling tricks of the church, were so often applied to serve factious purposes, and that so often repeated, to the injury and ruin of individuals, that it came at last to be despised—And the credit of certain assemblies, by pursuing similar measures, may come to share the same fate.

THE threat of General Richard Smith, when his conduct in Leadenhall-Street, induced the Proprietors of East India Stock, to scout him out of the House, of complaining of them at another place,

place, has been carried into execution; but to what effect? The vote to recall Governor Hastings, which was abetted by a small majority of the Directors, a Court of Proprietors, in a majority of seven to one, obliged them to rescind: And the premature introduction of the seventh report of the Select Committee, with the view to keep Mr. Sullivan and Sir William James, out of the Direction, operated more than any other cause, to the securing of their election. How terrible is it to see the credit of such a body degraded to so vile a use, and their senatorial dignity debased, by an interference with the factions of Leadenhall-Street.

Governor General Hastings having been in the East India Company's service thirty-three years, and Governor General of Bengal, by appointment of the legislative powers of this country, nine years; and the powers given to him by the state at first, having been three times renewed by as many several Acts of Parliament, it is not wonderful that he should have very numerous enemies. For it is a remark, not much to the credit of human nature, I must own, that the friends made by a man in high station, are apt to wear out whilst they expect his removal; on the reverse, his enemies endure for ever. This observation, if true, and I fear that it is but too much so, added to the numbers who are gaping for something which the removal of

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of such a man would supply, will account for many of them. But I should imagine that a man's enemies, created by the above two causes, though numerous and powerful, would not become so very active and persevering, as for the last nine years, those of Governor Hastings have shewn themselves. Indeed, I am convinced, that except they had been joined by another sort of enemy, much more vindictive and persevering than the other two sorts, they never would have given him and his friends, so much trouble to expose and crush them, as they have now almost done, by weight of argument, of truth, and of justice. This last order of enemies to the Governor General, have grown out of a very singular circumstance, neither more nor less than this, that Mr. Hastings studied his politics in Asia, and not in Europe. In order to explain fully and clearly, the truth of the above assertion, to my readers, they must indulge me in a little digression. I will not wander long, nor quit the main object but for a moment, and, as usual, confine the instances in proof of my premises, to very few.

PERHAPS there is not a man in the world, so well versed in human affairs as Mr. Hastings, whose manners and habits of life, conversation, address, and amusements, are so simple, so plain, so void of art, vanity, ostentation, and pride. This simplicity in all his actions, is so notorious, that

that two great travellers of *high fame*, Major Bagges, and Mr. William Mackintosh, the author of *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, (both of whom found their way to India, nobody there could tell how,) conceived him at first to be a fool, and have since constantly represented him to be a knave—For the same reason that the French dancing-master saw nothing great in the Earl of Oxford—For Mr. Hastings could neither gamble nor lie.—How then can a man be a good Governor without such qualifications, any more than a Lord a good Minister, who could never be made to dance a minuet? Mr. Hart was unknown in the Queen's time, who has since made so excellent a minuet dancer of General Dick Smith; and even he never ventured to sport one at Court; though he often made himself the ridicule of every boy in Calcutta, by his attempts that way. In oratory, Mr. Burke's lessons have equally failed him; and I much fear, that his patriotism will shortly sink into equal contempt.

EAST India affairs, like all other human affairs, are in continual rotation. Some years after Mr. Hastings had been Governor of Bengal, the Ministers set the Company to whirl round on Aristocratic pins. It was his duty, it was his habit, to correspond with the Directors of the Company's affairs in a body. He knew them not, nor sought he to know them, as individuals. Whoever might
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whirl in, or whirl out, was nothing to him. The Company was always the same; and his public sentiments were addressed to the whole body of twenty-four, as his private or political ones, to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the time being, as ever has been the custom of the service, without even enquiring who the identical Chairman, or his Deputy, were. As a body, they were his masters; as individuals, he felt himself their superior. The duties of his station he understood, and pursued with spirit and diligence; nor had time, or intention, to pay court to a set of men, whom he neither knew; nor wished to know, in any other point of view, than as the Directors of a great national Company, whose first ministerial servant abroad, he himself was.

ON such noble, honest, and disinterested principles, the Governor General performed his duty. But this neglect of little and low personal politics, gave offence to some *flies on the wheel* in Leadenhall-Street. They could not brook that the Governor General of Bengal, should not appear to feel their consequence, as much as an under clerk at the India House, and pay court accordingly; and to this neglect, he owes the rancour and opposition of a party in the Direction.

THE same kind of inattention, lost him the good opinion of a Right Honourable Orator. When

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Mr.

Mr. William Burke first found his way into the Carnatic, (though I can consider him in no other point of view, than a mushroom Nabob adventurer, such as his great cousin first appeared in this country, when picked up by the Marquis of Rockingham,) had Governor Hastings sent for him to Bengal, and addressed him in manner following, (as he most certainly would have done, had he been educated at St. Stephen's.)—"Welcome to Bengal, Sir.—Very glad to see you, Sir.—Your name, Sir, Burke, if I mistake not.—Cousin to the great Statesman, as I have heard.—Great man! O very great man!—Sublime and beautiful! Wonderful performance! Prodigious work!—Your Cousin was well I hope, Sir, when you heard from him last.—Busy, no doubt; earnest to save the state. Great man!—I have read his conciliatory plan. Heavenly thought! What a pity not attended to! But when will Britain's friends have sway!—I have all his speeches, all his political tracts, regularly sent me; have drawn much information from them in my government of Asia.—Prodigious genius!—But that great man stooping to write pamphlets, is, methinks, like Raphael painting apothecaries pots!—Come to make any stay with us, Sir? I hope you are.—You may command me, Sir.—You correspond with your Cousin, no doubt.—Can I be instrumental in forwarding your dispatches?—Command me, Sir, in that, or any other thing.—Shall be made quite happy, in having an opportunity

tunity to commence a correspondence with that wonderful statesman, by covering your remarks on this country to him.—Will a contract suit you, Sir?—We have a commissaryship now vacant.—Command me, Sir.—A cover at my table, Sir, always at your service.—Always expect to see you, Sir.—Great man, your Cousin ; very great man !—&c. &c.”—But the honest mind of Mr. Hastings, is above all such dirty work. He took no more notice of the adventurer, William Burke, than of Major Baggs or William Mackintosh ; for which neglect, the orator has abused him as much, as either of the others, and with as little effect.

THE last instance I shall produce of the Governor's creating himself enemies, is in the General of the Committee, the *Prince of spurious Nabobs*. When that mighty man commanded the Bengal army, it suited his purpose to represent Sujah ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, to the Governor and Council in Calcutta, to be so powerful and daring a Prince, as to induce them to continue a large third of the Bengal army in the Vizier's dominions ; the payment of which, and the King's tribute, amounting to half a million sterling annually, passed through the General's hands ; very much to his private advantage, but to the ruin of Bengal, from whence the money was drawn, never to return. The impolitic and ruinous tendency of such heavy drains of specie, out of our own

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provinces,

provinces, Governor Hastings saw, and soon after his coming to the government, put a stop to it ; and at the same time discovered, that the General's bugbear, or rather cat's paw, the Vizier Nabob, Sujah ul Dowlah, was the most contemptible of all Royal poltroons. This inadvertent, and unintended satire, on the General's penetration, has embittered him against Mr. Hastings ; (a gentleman, by-the bye, whom General Smith has never seen.) To this circumstance, and his being a friend of Mr. Sullivan, the Governor General owes the rank enmity of this man. To sum up the whole, Mr. Hastings has no other enemies, but a party in the Direction, who think their dignity slighted, because he will know them only in their official, and not individual capacity ; the great patriotic orator, *from the other side the water*, General Richard Smith, and the three great rambling adventurers, William Burke, William Mackintosh, and Major Baggs. It would be difficult to find another enemy that Mr. Hastings has, at home, or abroad, *worth notice* : for I own I believe that Mr. Farrer, and Mr. C. W. B. Rous, are more the friends of Mr. Francis, than the enemies of Mr. Hastings. At the same time it is shocking to think, how two men, who, from their consciences, knew better, could permit the diabolical insinuations, relative to the trial and execution of Nundcomar, to pass into the report of a certain Committee, without protesting against them. Their so doing has, however, damned them



them in my opinion ; for such treatment of an absent and innocent man, is, in my judgement, worse than murder. I know that they privately declare, that the orator drew them up, but that is no excuse for their letting them pass.

FROM the recapture of Calcutta in 1757, to the accession of Governor Hastings in 1772, there were but four Governors of Bengal, except Lord Clive, who were properly appointed by the Company. The restoration of Governor Drake, and the very short reign of Mr. Holwell, having been purely accidental, I do not reckon them.

THE four gentlemen were Governor Vansittart, Governor Spencer, Governor Verelst, and Governor Cartier, who jointly held the government eight or nine years. The two first are dead, and their families have been but too well convinced, by the very small fortunes which they left, that acquiring money was a small part of their study. The two latter are now alive, and I wish I could say, that their fortunes are greater than, from my knowledge of the disinterestedness of the men, I fear them to be. But the most singular part of the story is this ; they all fall under the description of *reputed* Nabobs ; and I boldly affirm, that the amount of the money remitted to this country, by the whole four on their own account, did not amount to a sum equal to what General

neral Richard Smith accumulated and remitted by the Company's cash, in the short space of three years, whilst in command of the army. He therefore, on more accounts than one, must be content that I place him at the head of the *spurious Nabobs*. No wonder then, that the honourable gentleman reprobates all his old associates and connections, and sets himself up for a patriot of the first head. That he, and his right honourable friends, Messrs: Fox and Burke, compose a noble triumvirate, nobody will deny—A man must look back to a period just before the birth of Christ, to match them. However, I beg leave to give him a hint. His friend, Philip Francis, is a wise man, and I believe, a better economist than himself. He carried a rider on his back, when he went to India before; and having had a leaf out of Calcraft's book, did not spend his time idly whilst he was there. General Clavering and Colonel Monson wrangled, the first for the chair, and the second for the command of the army. Philip held the balance, and milked the cow. The vanity of the man will carry him great lengths. The government of Bengal is worth three years purchase, to a man so well versed in the ways and means of that country. Reynard is hungry; the grapes have long been sour; and an early severe winter may ruin all again. Poor Paddy has lately lost his master, and Paddy must eat. Mind what I say; coalesce with Philip, and agree in time. The Lord Advocate's plan of Governor
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and General both in one, romantic as it is, may prove a bar to your hopes. Do not hesitate. Down with the roleaus, Master Mite, down with the roleaus. Philip and you, by sharing the spoil, may afford a good purse. Mind what you are about : The great prize Bear, Hastings, is almost run down ; do not let him escape, whilst you quarrel about the skin. These things are best managed in a thin House. Summer approaches, and Members fly off like Swallows. Mind what I say ; tofs the northern cur a sop.—Coalesce, coalesce, and persevere.—Country gentlemen are sick to loathing, at the eternal jingle of India affairs : rather than be teized with them through another sessions, they would pass a bill to declare Asia independent. This your friend, the great orator, knows. He owes every particle of his success in life, to long winded teizing. If you let the present opportunity slip, you are undone for ever. A dissolution may happen ; think of that, Master Matthew, think of that. Never more shall you find the way to Asia through Leadenhall-Street ; the leap must be made from St. Stephen's Chapel, or the game is up.

THE above long-winded paragraph may sound like rant ; but there is sometimes truth in joking. Never, sure, were people so misled by words, as the good folks of this nation : When shall we be wise ? The Lord Advocate honestly confesses, that in forming his Asiatic Bill, he has taken no advice,
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and I conscientiously believe him. Such great statesmen as he, and the Right Honourable Mr. Burke, want no advice. Their ideas of legislation are perfect, and their bills will equally suit the wilds of Siberia, mountains of Africa, deserts of Arabia, or fertile plains of Hindoostan. English Acts of Parliament, are absolutely the worst manufacture the kingdom has to export: they are made up of such discordant atoms, that they will not operate to any advantage, in any climate but that in which they are fabricated. My great hope is, that the number of cooks will spoil the broth, and that ultimately, we shall do nothing more in India affairs, than that of granting the Company immediate relief, by a vote of credit, and wait with patience, to see the effects of the Judicature Bill, the Ten Years Charter Bill, and of the late Peace.

I HAVE spent the better half of my life in Asia, and know not how to express my disgust, at the idea of forming Bills in an English Parliament, for the interior government of Hindoostan. Let the Lord Advocate suppose Hyder Ally seated in his Durbar, forming a code of laws to govern England; and some part of the absurdity will strike him. Most certain I am, that the great warriors and statesmen all over India, consider Mr. Hastings, next to Lord Clive, to be the greatest man of our nation, that ever was amongst them: And if their genius led them to execute political prints, I am confident they

they would represent him as a lion, with his teeth drawn, and claws pared to the quick : or perhaps as a man capable of every thing, but with his hands tied behind him.

THERE are two things which all the patriots and lawyers in England, would never be able to make the Asiatics understand the meaning of. The first is what we mean by the expression *Civil Liberty* : the second is, how a government can be so constituted, that the first magistrate shall be accountable for measures which he does not direct. Ever since the year 1774, they have been constantly told, that Governor General Hastings had done such things, that he would most certainly be recalled by the expected shipping ; and that extraordinary farce is kept up to this moment. Let Englishmen boast of the wisdom of their rulers, if they please ; but if such another instance of want of real wisdom, is to be found on the records of any nation in the world, than am I mistaken.

THE Lord Advocate is a man of great reading, and much observation. I would ask him whether in the interior parts of the Highlands of Scotland, there do not exist clan prejudices, and local habits, that bid defiance to all written law, and to preserve which, the natives would risk every thing, even life itself ? If this is the case in our own Island, how much stronger must habits and prejudices

dices exist amongst a people, who differ from us in every human idea of religious and civil legislation! There are thousands of farmers living in villages in the provinces of Hindoostan, situated on a small spot of rising ground, in the midst of vast cultivated plains, whose predecessors have, from time immemorial, paid annually to their Zemindar, or perhaps to a banker, or money lender, in the village, 75 per cent. per annum, for money to buy utensils and seed grain, with which to cultivate a small district in the neighbourhood. I have known at least a dozen instances, where Englishmen have conceived, that it would be the greatest relief to those poor distressed creatures, as they supposed them to be, to supply them with money at 24 per cent. per annum, and tried the experiment. What was the consequence? Why they never could recover their capital; and were always obliged to give up their obligations to the Zemindar, or banker, for the principal only. His Lordship must know, as well as I do, that the Asiatic farmers, are so far from being at rack rent, that their returns from the crops are in general so very ample, that was our English farmers to hold their farms on similar terms, they would be enabled to buy the estate which, as farmers, they rented, every five years:

How would the Lord Advocate determine, if placed as a judge in an Asiatic village, situated as mentioned above, when one of the first inhabitants
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of the place, should apply to him for justice, because a neighbour of his, of equal rank with himself, had neglected to invite him to his daughter's wedding? Would his Lordship direct the jury to find for the defendant, with costs of suit? If he did, he would be a bad Asiatic judge, though perhaps, he may be a good English one.

I know nothing so preposterous, as the idea of framing laws in an English House of Commons, for the interior government of Hindoostan. It strikes on my imagination on all sides, with such full blown absurdity, that I cannot bear to think of it.

WHEN the Regulating Act passed in 1773, every man in this country had in his mind, that the famine at Bengal in 1770, had been caused by the avarice and monopolizing spirit of the English; to remedy which, the act ordained that no European should buy rice in the provinces. In vain did Governor Verelst, and other honest men, point out the absurdity of the clause. In vain did they shew that Europeans were the only exporters of grain, and that every bushel that was exported, brought two and sixpence into the kingdom, and assisted the farmers to pay their rents, and that for grain which was by no means wanted, or could otherways be made of use. I have myself, exported from Bengal in the course of one year, one hundred and fifty thousand
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maunds of rice, and paid export duties on it to the Company, to the amount of 4000*l.* sterling. But neither I, nor any other merchant, could export rice to advantage, when forced to purchase it at the Presidency. Nor did we choose to subject ourselves to informations for a breach of an act, merely because it was signified from the higher powers on the spot, who saw and felt the absurdity of such clause, that no notice would be taken of such breach. In the end, Governor Hastings boldly and justly opposed the Act, in the case of the Judges interfering in the revenues, and asked pardon for so doing. The rice clause is again inserted in the new Bill, though every man in India, is convinced of its pernicious tendency.

If our patriots and lawyers, are so very fond of legislating for a country so distant as the East Indies, it will save themselves, and their Governors abroad, much trouble, to send with their Acts, a general dispensing power. This idea does not go much beyond what the Lord Advocate himself conceives to be necessary, with respect to the powers requisite to be given to his future Governor General. In that single instance I agree with him intirely, provided that he can obtain from Heaven, a succession of men, almost as good as angels, to act as Governors, so far from the seat of empire, surrounded by temptations so powerfully strong. I believe Lord Cornwallis to be a character as near
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the mark as can be. But why a military Governor ? Bengal is neither a mere rock, like Gibraltar, nor an island, like Jamaica, liable, at every motion of the enemy, to be put under military government. It is a vast mercantile Empire, and as such, a great acquisition to Great Britain : but surely it will not require a Governor bred up in a camp, with ideas purely military, to manage it. A man whose creed is the articles of war, may do well enough to defend the frontier, or serve as a mere Governor of Madras ; but God grant that Bengal may continue free from the dictates of so unnatural a monster, as a military Governor.

THOUGH Mr. Burke does not like the Lord Advocate's bill, still the right honourable gentleman continues to abuse Governor Hastings, and still some few members attend to him. *He pledges himself* to God, the House, and his Country, that he will prove Mr. Hastings to be the greatest of all delinquents ; *and I aver*, that if the right honourable gentleman succeeds, in bringing about the recall of the Governor General, *he will never say more on the subject*. Is it possible that the House and the world, can forget how often the right honourable gentleman has *pledged himself* to bring home facts against men in high station, and how virulently he has abused them whilst they were in office ? and can they forget how he dropped his charges, and changed his language, the instant they were removed ?

moved? Lord North is now his honourable friend; and Lord Rodney is again a hero.—If the House of Commons will only pass a bill to make Mr. Francis Governor of Bengal, General Richard Smith Commander in Chief, and Mr. William Burke a Bengal Counsellor, Governor Hastings will not be *merely* good, but the *best* of subjects.

“ This clue once found, unravels all the rest :

“ The prospect clears, and EDMUND stands confest.

Profligate as the age is, and abandoned as some of our rulers are, yet I cannot think that they will be hardy enough to remove Mr. Hastings on the plea of delinquency, without a specific charge having been even alledged, and send out such men as Mr. Francis and General Smith. The Court of Proprietors know these men, and their own interest, too well, to submit to such a shameless prostitution of their property. And it is to be hoped, nay, it can only be doubted by the framers of this bill, that the House of Commons will not suffer such an affront to be put on their understanding, without a proper resentment. In the choice of these two men to govern such a kingdom as Bengal, there is so glaring a degree of venality, that it would be as absurd to offer an argument in proof of it, as it would to prove a self evident proposition. Nothing can make it plainer than the characters of the men who are concerned in this profligate bargain.

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